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McClellan to Lead Anti-Repeal Forces

Right-to-Work Showdown Expected in Early July

By VICTOR RIESEL

The final showdown over legalizing the union shop throughout the United States will come on the floor of Congress early in July when the forces of two men of the Southwest clash with each other long and bitterly.

This final conflict will come between Sen. John McClellan, who'll marshall the "right-to-work" forces —and President Johnson himself.

The senator's argument against repeal of 14b will be that the unions need tighter, not looser laws. He'll bolster this argument with public senatorial hearings of his own committee into labor pension and welfare funds worth scores of hundreds of millions of dollars.

For months now he has had teams of investigators probing small unions in New York, Chicago and other Midwest cities. He believes he has found abuses in these funds, which hold anywhere from $3 million to $15 million. In all there are 164,000 funds with a total of $75 billion, growing at the rate of over $5 billion a year.

A vast section of these fantastic pools of cash are operated by management through banks and insurance companies. But thousands of the pension groups are in the hands of unions. Last year the Labor Department reported 38 criminal violations of the handling of such monies and sent the cases over to the Justice Department.

Just what Sen. McClellan's teams have discovered few know because the senator and his general counsel, Jerry Adlerman, have been tight-lipped during any discussion of the inflowing reports.

In a memorandum submitted at the beginning of this congressional session, McClellan said that "It is vital for the protection of the individual worker, as well as for the economy of this nation, that increased attention be paid to these welfare and pension funds and that they be sufficiently regulated to assure their availability for the intended beneficiaries. . ."

While McClellan is battling in the Senate, a coalition of Democrats and Republicans will hit the same theme—local union abuses—in the House. They'll be guided by none other than the 62-year-old Fred A. Hartley, who wrote the original Taft-Hartley Act with the late Sen. Robert A. Taft.

The robust Mr. Hartley, who served in Congress from 1929 to 1949, lives a country squire life now in Milford, N.J. His strategy will be to charge that repeal of the right-to-work section of the Taft-Hartley law will force workers to join unions which will use their dues for political and philosophical causes and concepts which the employes oppose.

Sen. John L. McClellan (D.-Ark.) will lead the right-to-work forces in the Senate. Former Rep. Fred Hartley (right), co-author of the Taft-Hartley Act, is also in the forefront of those wishing to retain Section 14b.

The Hartley open shop forces will argue that despite the honesty of many national union leaders the latter can't control their local unions. In the counterattack against the nation's labor leaders, the right-to-work bloc will heap statistics on the House floor showing growing local defiance of the top leadership—and a big increase in strikes.

Perhaps the most damaging attacks on the labor movement will spring from a recital of convictions and indictments of local labor leaders. Again, the point will be made that the honesty of a national labor president is no guarantee of his control of local unions on the Taft-Hartley front.

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The anti-repeal leaders specifically will point to Chicago. There, for example, Clarence Jalas, powerful business manager of the Moving Picture Operators Union, local 110, has been indicted on 25 counts of Taft-Hartley violations.

He has been accused by a federal grand jury of 20 counts of receiving illegal gifts of money, notes, stock certificates and services from a film company that had employed members of his union. There are scores of such indictments—and convictions—on record.

Whatever does come out of this final showdown in the Congress over repeal of the states' right to ban the union shop, the disclosure of local union abuses will be salutary.

It will be obvious that local unions no longer can be tolerated as local, impregnable baronies. They owe a responsibility to their members, their national movement and the public.

And that sense of responsibility must not remain a matter of personal whim.

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House Passes Foreign Aid Bill

Following is the 249-to-148 vote by which the House passed and sent to the Senate the $3.37- billion foreign aid authorization bill May 25:

Democrats For: 205

Adams (Wash.)
Addabbo (N.Y.)
Albert (Okla.)
Anderson (Tenn.)
Annunzio (Ill.)
Ashley (Ohio)
Aspinall (Colo.)
Barrett (Pa.)
Beckworth (Tex.)
Bingham (N.Y.)
Blatnik (Minn.)
Boggs (La.)
Boland (Mass.)
Bolling (Mo.)
Brademas (Ind.)
Brooks (Tex.)
Brown (Calif.)
Burke (Mass.)
Byrne (Pa.)
Callan (Neb.)
Cameron (Calif.)
Carey (N.Y.)
Celler (N.Y.)
Clark (Pa.)
Clevenger (Mich.)
Cohelan (Calif.)
Conyers (Mich.)
Cooley (N.C.)
Corman (Calif.)
Craley (Pa.)
Culver (Iowa)
Daddario (Conn.)
Daniels (N.J.)
Dawson (Ill.)
Delaney (N.Y.)
Dent (Pa.)
Denton (Ind.)
Diggs (Mich.)
Dingell (Mich.)
Donohue (Mass.)
Dow (N.Y.)
Downing (Va.)
Dulski (N.Y.)
Duncan (Ore.)
Dyal (Calif.)
Edmondson (Okla.)
Edwards (Calif.)
Evans (Colo.)
Everett (Tenn.)
Evins (Tenn.)
Fallon (Md.)
Farbstein (N.Y.)
Farnsley (Ky.)
Farnum (Mich.)
Fascell (Fla.)
Feighan (Ohio)
Flood (Pa.)
Fogarty (R.I.)
Foley (Wash.)
Wm. Ford (Mich.)
Fraser (Minn.)
Friedel (Md.)
Fulton (Tenn.)
Gallagher (N.J.)
Garmatz (Md.)
Giaimo (Conn.)
Gibbons (Fla.)
Gilbert (N.Y.)
Gilligan (Ohio)
Gonzalez (Tex.)
Grabowski (Conn.)
Gray (Ill.)
Green (Pa.)
Greigg (Iowa)
Grider (Tenn.)
Griffiths (Mich.)
Hamilton (Ind.)
Hanley (N.Y.)
Hansen (Iowa)
Hansen (Wash.)
Hardy (Va.)
Harris (Ark.)
Hathaway (Maine)
Hawkins (Calif.)
Hays (Ohio)
Hechler (W.Va.)
Helstoski (N.J.)
Herlong (Fla.)
Hicks (Wash.)
Holifield (Calif.)
Holland (Pa.)
Howard (N.J.)
Huot (N.H.)
Irwin (Conn.)
Jacobs (Ind.)
Joelson (N.J.)
Johnson (Calif.)
Jones (Ala.)
Karsten (Mo.)
Karth (Minn.)
Kastenmeier (Wis.)
Kee (W.Va.)
Kelly (N.Y.)
Keogh (N.Y.)
King (Calif.)
King (Utah)
Kirwan (Ohio)
Kluczynski (Ill.)
Krebs (N.J.)
Landrum (Ga.)
Leggett (Calif.)
Long (Md.)
Love (Ohio)
McCarthy (N.Y.)
McDowell (Del.)
McFall (Calif.)
McGrath (N.J.)
McVicker (Colo.)
Machen (Md.)
Mackay (Ga.)
Mackie (Mich.)
Madden (Ind.)
Mahon (Tex.)
Matsunaga (Hawaii)
Matthews (Fla.)
Meeds (Wash.)
Mills (Ark.)
Minish (N.J.)
Mink (Hawaii)
Monagan (Conn.)
Morgan (Pa.)
Morrison (La.)
Moss (Calif.)
Multer (N.Y.)
Murphy (Ill.)
Murphy (N.Y.)
Natcher (Ky.)
Nedzi (Mich.)
Nix (Pa.)
O'Brien (N.Y.)
O'Hara (Ill.)
O'Hara (Mich.)
Olsen (Mont.)
Olson (Minn.)
O'Neill (Mass.)
Ottinger (N.Y.)
Patman (Tex.)
Patten (N.J.)
Pepper (Fla.)
Perkins (Ky.)
Philbin (Mass.)
Pickle (Tex.)
Pike (N.Y.)
Price (Ill.)
Pucinski (Ill.)
Purcell (Tex.)
Redlin (N.D.)
Reuss (Wis.)
Rhodes (Pa.)
Rivers (Alaska)
Rodino (N.J.)
Rogers (Colo.)
Ronan (Ill.)
Rooney (N.Y.)
Rooney (Pa.)
Roosevelt (Calif.)
Rosenthal (N.Y.)
Rostenkowski (Ill.)
Roybal (Calif.)
Ryan (N.Y.)
St. Germain (R.I.)
St. Onge (Conn.)
Scheuer (N.Y.)
Schisler (Ill.)
Schmidhauser (Iowa)
Selden (Ala.)
Senner (Ariz.)
Sickles (Md.)
Sisk (Calif.)
Slack (W.Va.)
Smith (Iowa)
Staggers (W.Va.)
Stalbaum (Wis.)
Steed (Okla.)
Stratton (N.Y.)
Sullivan (Mo.)
Sweeney (Ohio)
Tenzer (N.Y.)
Thomas (Tex.)
Thompson (N.J.)
Thompson (Tex.)
Todd (Mich.)
Trimble (Ark.)
Tunney (Calif.)
Udall (Ariz.)
Ullman (Ore.)
Van Deerlin (Calif.)
Vanik (Ohio)
Vigorito (Pa.)
Vivian (Mich.)
Chas. F. Wilson (Calif.)
Wolff (N.Y.)
Yates (Ill.)
Young (Tex.)
Zablocki (Wis.)

Democrats Against: 62

Abbitt (Va.)
Abernethy (Miss.)
Ashmore (S.C.)
Baring (Nev.)
Bennett (Fla.)
Burleson (Tex.)
Cabell (Tex.)
Casey (Tex.)
Colmer (Miss.)
Davis (Ga.)
De la Garza (Tex.)
Dorn (S.C.)
Dowdy (Tex.)
Fisher (Tex.)
Fountain (N.C.)
Fuqua (Fla.)
Gathings (Ark.)
Gettys (S.C.)
Hagan (Ga.)
Haley (Fla.)
Henderson (N.C.)
Hull (Mo.)
Ichord (Mo.)
Jarman (Okla.)
Jennings (Va.)
Johnson (Okla.)
Jones (Mo.)
Kornegay (N.C.)
Long (La.)
McMillan (S.C.)
Marsh (Va.)
Moeller (Ohio)
Morris (N.M.)
Murray (Tenn.)
O'Neal (Ga.)
Passman (La.)
Poage (Tex.)
Race (Wis.)
Randall (Mo.)
Rivers (S.C.)
Roberts (Tex.)
Rogers (Fla.)
Rogers (Tex.)
Roush (Ind.)
Satterfield (Va.)
Scott (N.C.)
Secrest (Ohio)
Shipley (Ill.)
Sikes (Fla.)
Smith (Va.)
Stephens (Ga.)
Taylor (N.C.)
Teague (Tex.)
Thompson (La.)
Tuck (Va.)
Tuten (Ga.)
Waggonner (La.)
Walker (N.M.)
White (Tex.)
Whitener (N.C.)
Whitten (Miss.)
Williams (Miss.)

Republicans for: 44

Arends (Ill.)
Ayres (Ohio)
Baldwin (Calif.)
Bates (Mass.)
Bell (Calif.)
Bolton (Ohio)
Broomfield (Mich.)
Byrnes (Wis.)
Cahill (N.J.)
Cleveland (N.H.)
Conable (N.Y.)
Conte (Mass.)
Corbett (Pa.)
Dwyer (N.J.)
G. Ford (Mich.)
Frelinghuysen (N.J.)
Fulton (Pa.)
Griffin (Mich.)
Halleck (Ind.)
Halpern (N.Y.)
Horton (N.Y.)
Hosmer (Calif.)
Keith (Mass.)
Kunkel (Pa.)
Lindsay (N.Y.)
McDade (Pa.)
MacGregor (Minn.)
Mailliard (Calif.)
Martin (Mass.)
Morse (Mass.)
Morton (Md.)
Nelsen (Minn.)
Pirnie (N.Y.)
Quie (Minn.)
Reid (N.Y.)
Robison (N.Y.)
Schweiker (Pa.)
Smith (N.Y.)
Stafford (Vt.)
Teague (Calif.)
Tupper (Maine)
Whalley (Pa.)
Widnall (N.J.)
Wydler (N.Y.)

Republicans against: 86

Adair (Ind.)
Anderson (Ill.)
G. Andrews (Ala.)
Andrews (N.D.)
Battin (Mont.)
Belcher (Okla.)
Betts (Ohio)
Bow (Ohio)
Bray (Ind.)
Brock (Tenn.)
Broyhill (N.C.)
Broyhill (Va.)
Buchanan (Ala.)
Burton (Utah)
Callaway (Ga.)
Cederberg (Mich.)
Chamberlain (Mich.)
Clancy (Ohio)
Don Clausen (Calif.)
Collier (Ill.)
Cramer (Fla.)
Cunningham (Neb.)
Curtin (Pa.)
Curtis (Mo.)
Dague (Pa.)
Davis (Wis.)
Derwinski (Ill.)
Devine (Ohio)
Dole (Kan.)
Duncan (Tenn.)
Edwards (Ala.)
Ellsworth (Kan.)
Erlenborn (Ill.)
Findley (Ill.)
Fino (N.Y.)
Goodell (N.Y.)
Gross (Iowa)
Grover (N.Y.)
Gubser (Calif.)
Gurney (Fla.)
Hall (Mo.)
Hansen (Idaho)
Harsha (Ohio)
Harvey (Mich.)
Hutchinson (Mich.)
Johnson (Pa.)
Jonas (N.C.)
King (N.Y.)
Laird (Wis.)
Langen (Minn.)
Latta (Ohio)
Lipscomb (Calif.)
McClory (Ill.)
McCulloch (Ohio)
McEwen (N.Y.)
Martin (Ala.)
Martin (Neb.)
May (Wash.)
Michel (Ill.)
Minshall (Ohio)
Mize (Kan.)
Moore (W.Va.)
Mosher (Ohio)
O'Konski (Wis.)
Pelly (Wash.)
Poff (Va.)
Quillen (Tenn.)
Reid (Ill.)
Reifel (S.D.)
Reinecke (Calif.)
Rhodes (Ariz.)
Roudebush (Ind.)
Rumsfeld (Ill.)
Saylor (Pa.)
Schneebeli (Pa.)
Shriver (Kan.)
Smith (Calif.)
Stanton (Ohio)
Talcott (Calif.)
Thomson (Wis.)
Utt (Calif.)
Walker (Miss.)
Watkins (Pa.)
R. Wilson (Calif.)
Wyatt (Ore.)
Younger (Calif.)

Recorded for but not actually voting (15): Hebert (La.), Macdonald (Mass.), Burton (Calif.), Toll (Pa.), Hanna (Calif.), Bandstra (Iowa), Miller (Calif.), Moorhead (Pa.), White (Idaho), Powell (N.Y.), Hagen (Calif.), Resnick (N.Y.), Green (Ore.), and Watts (Ky.), Democrats; Springer (Ill.), Republican.

Recorded against but not actually voting (15): Lennon (N.C.), Pool (Tex.), Bonner (N.C.), George Andrews (Ala.), Flynt (Ga.), Chelf (Ky.) and Willis (La.), Democrats; Del Clawson (Calif.), Skubitz (Kan.), Berry (S.D.), Brown (Ohio), Carter (Ky.), Ashbrook (Ohio), Harvey (Ind.) and Dickinson (Ala.), Republicans.

Absent or not voting 7.
Vacancies 1. Total membership 435.

Slave Labor or Slave Congress?

From the Chicago *Tribune*

Secretary Wirtz' forced retreat in regard to the admission of Mexican farm laborers ought to be enlightening to Congress as it takes up the latest instructions from George Meany of the AFL-CIO, relayed by President Johnson.

Congress banned the braceros and other foreign migrant workers last winter in order to repay the political debt of the Democrats to Mr. Meany, just as Mr. Johnson now asks Congress to repeal the right-to-work law and to extend and perhaps even raise the minimum wage. One can search his barren message in vain for logical justification for these moves; he merely echoed the mechanical union assurance that they are "essential."

It was "essential," too, for Congress to exclude the braceros. It was told that they were being exploited by greedy farmers, that they were taking jobs away from deserving Americans, and that plenty of our own unemployed were ready, able and eager to do the work—at higher wages.

So Congress passed the law and Mr. Wirtz undertook to enforce it strictly.

What happened? Was there a rush of unemployed from the cities to pick strawberries, tomatoes and other crops on the farms of California and elsewhere? Hardly.

Few had the experience and even fewer the desire to give up unemployment pay and city life for the arduous labor and hot sun of the farm. Even teen-agers, for whom there has been such concern, quit after a few days. Many of those who have stayed are inexperienced or incompetent.

Farmers have warned that their crops would soon spoil, bringing disaster to them and their communities and higher prices to American housewives. They have talked of mechanization. And in Mexico, there has been dismay and dangerous unrest among the 175,000 workers who normally migrate northward during the summer and earn enough to support themselves and their families the rest of the year.

So Mr. Wirtz has backed down and availed himself of an escape clause in the law. He has agreed to admit 1,500 braceros and another 1,000 are about to be added. But he still insists that they be paid $1.40 an hour instead of the piecework rates which have hitherto prevailed. Whether he can make this wage stick and whether it will prove workable remain to be seen.

Thus the anti-bracero law has proved unable to do what it was supposed to do even though it was called essential. The same goes for the $1.25 minimum wage, which

Congress banned braceros to pay off liberal Democrats' debt to AFL-CIO chief George Meany.

Congress adopted on the insistence of the AFL-CIO, only to find that instead of helping marginal workers, on balance, it eliminated many of their jobs—especially those of young people—and left them worse off than before.

Yet now the unions want to correct this error with another—a $2 minimum wage, and Mr. Johnson offers his half-hearted support.

One after another, these "essential" demands prove unnecessary, unworkable and even harmful. Slogans like "Repeal Taft-Hartley," "Slave labor act," "35-hour week," and "$2 minimum wage" are better adapted for chanting on picket lines than for putting into effect. And when they are put into effect, they don't help the workers, and they don't even help the unions. They merely demonstrate that a handful of labor bosses are still able to order Congress around.

□ □ □

REP. RICHARD ROUDEBUSH (R.-Ind.) reveals that 17 free world nations are trading with the North Vietnamese Communists. Sixteen of the nations have been the recipients of U.S. foreign aid. They are: Austria, Belgium-Luxembourg, Denmark, France, Germany, Italy, Netherlands, England, Burma, Cambodia, India, Japan, Malaysia, New Zealand, Argentina and Mexico.

□ □ □

A CLASS BY ITSELF—Comptroller General Joseph Campbell has told senators that the problem of waste in the foreign aid agency is "greater than it is in any other civil agency." The foreign aid program, he told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, "is in a class by itself with respect to prospective waste."

LBJ's Housing Message

Uncle Sam, the Rent Payer

By REP. CHARLES TEAGUE (R.-Calif.)

The Administration's 1965 housing bill includes one proposal which goes so far that, unless it is deleted on the House floor, it will force me to vote "no" on the entire measure.

The housing administrator would be authorized to subsidize a tenant's rent in an amount up to the difference between the fair market rental for a unit and one-fourth of the tenant's income.

This formula would kill the incentive of the American family to improve its living accommodations by its own efforts. A family with $300 a month income living in a $100-a-month apartment would pay only $75 a month, with the government providing a monthly subsidy of $25.

The proposed law is wide open. There is no income ceiling to make one ineligible for the rent subsidy. **Within the discretion of the administrator, the bill could allow a $3,000-a-month family a rent subsidy for a $1,000-a-month hotel or apartment penthouse. The primary requirement for a qualified tenant is that he be unable to obtain standard, privately-owned housing at a rental no more than one-fourth of his income. That could be standard housing suitable to the tenant's** needs **or suitable to his** desires. **The administrator could decide either way.**

Our $300-a-month family, with no increase in income, might decide it wants to live in a better apartment—a $200-a-month apartment instead of the $100-a-month apartment. Under the formula, there would be nothing to prevent the family from doing so, with no increase in the amount of rent it would pay. The family would pay the same one-fourth of its income, $75 a month, and the government would pay an increased subsidy of $125 to make up the balance of the fair market rent for the unit.

Then a neighbor with an income of $400 and renting at $100 a month, with no help from Uncle Sam, suddenly realized that the other fellow, with much less income than his, has been enabled to move into a far better apartment with no increase in his rent payments. So he, too, moves into a $200-a-month apartment. He continues to pay only $100 a month rent with the government providing the other $100. (The eligibility criteria for such a move are that the tenant either be displaced, physically handicapped, elderly, or living in a sub-standard dwelling.)

This rent subsidy has a potential that no other federal housing program can even come close to matching. It could run the public housing program clear out of business.

I have supported most low-cost housing programs. But when the Administration moves up to subsidizing middle-income families (and inequitably to boot), I can't go along.

□ □ □

PREROGATIVE—"One of the prerogatives of American citizenship is the right to criticize public men and measures—and that means not only informed and responsible criticism but the freedom to speak foolishly and without moderation."—Justice Felix Frankfurter in *Baumgartner v. United States*, 1944

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Gov. William Scranton Starts 1968 Campaign; Proposes 'Great Society Jr.' for Pennsylvania

A *Human Events* Staff Report

Rep. John Lindsay may well turn out to be the darling of the GOP liberals when 1968 presidential nominating time rolls around, but not without a fight from Pennsylvania's Gov. William Scranton.

With roughly the same team of cherubim and mischief-makers which threw last year's Republican convention into disorder with its last-minute letter to Sen. Goldwater, Scranton hopes before too long to work the faithful of the GOP into a state of inspired ecstasy about his '68 candidacy.

Patrician Scranton and his Harrisburg aides tried to launch his campaign in big style earlier this year by having his address to a joint session of the state legislature televised over a statewide hook-up, but these plans were scotched by the Democrat-controlled assembly which perversely refused to permit TV equipment in the chamber.

The months following were quite barren of any profitable accomplishments for the Scranton set. Richard Nixon was making news from every point of the compass and even George Romney, not one to abandon himself to idleness, found time to head up a parade of demonstrators down Detroit's main avenues in the wake of Selma.

Despite a lack of publicity, however, the governor's image-makers were working feverishly to keep him hovering on the border of immortal fame and to perpetuate their master's memory. (Their job was made a bit more difficult because Scranton had been characterized as afflicted with a sort of constitutional timidity for his vacillations during the '64 presidential campaign—but this stigma has not diminished his supporters' ardor, just as it didn't prevent the "moderates" from giving Scranton a flattering reception last year.)

The build-up is really moving now.

The governor, we are told by organization speakers, is a man of stately figure and gentle bearing, of melodious voice and dignified address, of cordial benignity and warm humanity. His style, we are told, has now begun to display matured vigor and intensity, rich in ideas, often profound in expression. Once in awhile the governor is referred to (his favorite description) as a "conservative on fiscal matters, liberal on civil rights"—though the former charge rests upon slight foundation indeed.

(Perhaps it is well that the governor's state-of-the union address was blacked out last January. When he gave his first such speech upon taking office in 1963, it moved the Senate Democratic leader, Sen. Weiner of Philadelphia, to remark: "His program's wonderful, we couldn't have done better ourselves." It even moved an old pro like John Bailey to charge that Scranton was outdoing the Democrats in order to enhance his chances of getting the '64 nomination.)

The Harrisburg Cub-Scouts are now confident they have latched on to *the issue* with which to exhibit Scranton's masterly power: a junior "Great Society." And somehow they succeeded in tying up the state's entire radio and TV facilities one hour two weeks ago to present the governor as cup-bearer, pouring the nectar of goodness FOR ALL PENNSYLVANIANS. . . but especially those in the big cities.

All the governor wanted was $100 million to toss around the state, and wealth, luxury, mental cultivation, domestic comfort, appreciative friends and worldwide honor will attend their declining years.

Predictably the Democrats have been the most animated in expressing their delight at Scranton's Junior Great Society. However, some ungenerous souls were heard to remark that the governor merely jumped the gun on their own program by about 10 days.

Rep. Herbert Fineman of Philadelphia, majority whip, commented: "As to the results the governor seeks, I would subscribe 100 per cent—he has taken a cue from President Johnson—with the "Great Society" limited to Pennsylvania; however, we will not buy pie-in-the-sky programs, like his highways program, which is impossible."

John H. Delvin of Pittsburgh, Democratic floor leader in the Senate, was a little more subtle: "This is what we would call the Office of Urban Affairs on the federal level," he said. Showing no such reluctance to comment, Sen. William Lane, Democrat, stated: "I honestly think he is trying to imitate the Johnson Administration. He has hardly forgotten anything the President has done."

And Democratic State Chairman Otis B. Morse said baldly that a "higher echelon clique is working out Gov. Scranton's political-governmental timetable toward 1968."

Republican reaction has been somewhat less spirited. Respected, conservative Sen. George Wade of Dauphin County took public exception to the whole scheme, criticizing particularly the Scranton highways program. Most other Republican leaders have kept their comments to themselves, but the state Chamber of Commerce which fairly reflects conservative Republican thinking on Capitol Hill, as well as Pennsylvania industry generally, took out after the governor's program.

Democrats are delighted by Gov. Scranton's legislative proposals.

The C of C's blast was contained in its "Legislative Service Bulletin" No. 13 (a hex on him?): "If the governor has any aspirations for the presidency, he presumably has learned that one way not to win the nomination is to make a last-minute dash on a white charger."

The bulletin continued: "What makes the Tuesday message a fascinating political document:

(1) It is big, bold and brawny.

(2) It boxes in the Democrats. If they don't go along, the Republicans can point with alarm in 1966. If they do, the Republicans get the credit. The only danger Republican politicos face is that Scranton, in a burst of bipartisanship, might invite Lyndon and Lady Bird to cut the ribbons."

The bulletin summed up: "One aspect of the dream was easier to analyze. It had only four figures: 1968."

The Chamber of Commerce's blast should not be underestimated, and it is not likely that Scranton unfolded his "Great Society Jr." without weighing the effects upon the tax-paying business segment of Pennsylvania, which, in the final analysis, will have to shoulder the lion's share of this grandiose scheme.

Gov. Scranton's term expires at the end of 1966, and he cannot succeed himself, but rumor is rife that in order to keep him alive politically, Sen. Hugh Scott will become available for the gubernatorial nomination next spring (at no risk whatever to his Senate seat) and, if nominated and elected, work Scranton into his Senate vacancy.

Scott still fancies himself as the *eminence gris* in a Scranton administration, and is doubtlessly pushing the governor out into left field in the belief that the only way to beat LBJ is to put up a Republican who can offer the American voter a life of voluptuous indulgence.

Despite his allusion to "fiscal conservatism," Scranton's infatuation with welfarism (he was quite conspicuous by his presence at the White House signing of the "Appalachia" bill) and statism (he recently suggested that the state's milk problems could be resolved by submission to a federal marketing order from Washington) makes pretty rough logic.

Can mere lack of experience explain what on the face of it appears to be the clumsy, ill-timed, self-injuring quality of Mr. Scranton's recent political behavior?

Or could it be that Scranton's campaign is really being masterminded by a committee of "angry young men" made up of Milton Eisenhower, Malcolm Moos, Cabot Lodge and Arthur Larson?

Detroit Poverty Program Under Fire

From an editorial on station WJBK, Detroit

Millions upon millions of dollars are being poured into urban renewal, war on poverty, youth employment, and other projects which use public money to try to improve the lives of poor people in the great cities of America.

Detroit is one of the most-talked-of examples, where enormous sums of government money have been spent, and vast new projects are discussed. But in Detroit there is a rising chorus of voices which says: "Are these programs really helping the poor, or transforming the city as promised?"

Urban renewal, for example, has been bulldozing houses and shops in Detroit for 15 years, and those families which have not fled from the path of the bulldozer and disappeared from the records have been helped to find housing elsewhere.

But the findings of a year-long study by Wayne State University sociologists, just released, show that the effect is actually only to push slums from one place to another.

People uprooted from one place do not change their nature just because they are forced to move to another area and their economic status remains the same. There is just as much unemployment, delinquency, illegitimacy and illiteracy as before, only in another neighborhood. And the new housing found for the uprooted people may be quite beyond their means, thus leading to still more reliance on public aid and welfare.

Meanwhile, bitter criticism is also heard of the meager results of the war on poverty throughout Detroit. Very few concrete gains can be found at the poverty level, although well-paid staffs are busily engaged in "counseling" and other advisory services.

WJBK called attention to the weaknesses of both urban renewal and the war on poverty months ago. We noted that urban renewal was long on bulldozing vast empty spaces in Detroit, but short on anything but paper dreams from that point on.

We noted that the highly publicized war on poverty duplicated services already performed by more than a hundred agencies in Detroit and that a far better job-finding agency already existed in the Michigan Employment Security Commission.

That was months ago. There has been no change. The poor are as bad off as ever . . . maybe more so . . . and the citizens of Detroit are beginning to wonder. . .

We recommend to the common council that it ask the city housing commission for a point-by-point answer to the charges in the Wayne State study . . . without gingerbread or frosting. And we urge the council to look upon the war on poverty . . . to see just how many permanent jobs have been found for the poor.

Let's talk facts for a change. . . instead of rosy dreams.

□ □ □

DANGER OF COLLAPSE— Sen. Jack Miller (R.-Iowa) has ripped the income tax structure as "complex and cumbersome. . . an undue burden on the taxpayers, the professional people who serve them, and the government officials who administer the law." He warned the burden has become increasingly onerous and "if permitted to continue there is danger that our system of income taxation will collapse."

□ □ □

EMPLOYMENT in the civilian agencies of the federal government continues to soar. The Joint Committee on Reduction of Nonessential Federal Expenditures reports that employment jumped 6,157 from February to March and now totals 1,441,886. Biggest increases were recorded in the Agriculture and Post Office Departments. A total of 132,326 foreign nationals were also on the U.S. payroll during March.

□ □ □

WHAT'S THE DIFFERENCE?—"If it is wrong for a politician to buy votes with his own money, what makes him a great humanitarian to be backed by the churches when he buys millions of votes with other people's money? Is bribery in the one case right and the other wrong? If so, what makes it so?" —Rev. Kenneth W. Sollitt, *Four Foundations of Freedom*

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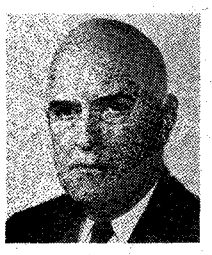
CAPITOL CAMERA

• A deputy assistant secretary of state, G. Marvin Gentile, has told a House Appropriations subcommittee that State Department investigators last year discovered 32 homosexuals in the department and forced them to resign. One of those dismissed was a $20,000-a-year veteran of 18 years in the foreign service. Commented Rep. John J. Rooney, subcommittee chairman: "When do you think we might get to the end of this homosexual and security problem in the foreign service? It seems to be getting worse each year."



ROONEY

• *The ultra-liberal Xerox Corporation, which sponsored several TV programs gushing over the United Nations, has suddenly entered the education field in a big way: Xerox has purchased American Education Publications and Wesleyan University Press, Inc., for 400,000 shares of Xerox common stock—about $56 million. In return for its shares, Xerox takes over what has been described as "the largest educational periodical publishing enterprise in the world." Its best known of 26 classroom periodicals is* My Weekly Reader, *which covers kindergarten through the sixth grade and* Current Events *for junior and senior high schools. In the words of one conservative, "This just gives the liberals a new media for brainwashing American children. Why don't some conservative American firms wise up and pull off a similar operation?"*

• Supporters of former Rep. Albert Watson, the South Carolinian who gave up the congressional seat he won as a Democrat to run for it as a Republican, say he is far from a shoo-in in the June 15 special election. These backers say the liberal Democrats in the traditionally Democratic 2nd Congressional Distirct are better organized than the Republicans and that a small turnout of voters might spell victory for Watson's opponent. The labor-liberal crowd is also expected to launch a massive offensive in the closing weeks of the campaign. For Watson to sew up a victory, his supporters are urging conservative and independent-minded voters to come out in droves on election day.

WATSON

• *The left-wing Americans for Democratic Action, which opposed LBJ's sending Marines into the Dominican Republic, apparently saw little danger of a Communist take-over of that country. A recent resolution passed by the ADA's national board stressed that "The facts illustrating the Communist threat, as officially stated, did not justify the intervention by U.S. armed forces." The ADA called for U.S. withdrawal of troops and the removal of Under Secretary of State Thomas Mann because of his "dominant role" in the Dominican crisis and "his manifest lack of sympathy for democratic reform and Latin American aspirations."*

• Rep. John V. Lindsay (R.-N.Y), the liberals' new man on a white horse, said last week he is running for New York City mayor without the GOP label. He even refused any offers of campaign help from outside the state, including former President Eisenhower and the Republican National Committee, a move which is seen by observers as further alienating him from GOP regulars. Lindsay now publicly admits he is seeking at least one Democrat, and maybe two, to run on his slate.

LINDSAY

This Week in Washington

The Badly Drawn Rights Bill

Constitutionalists in the Nation's Capital are dismayed at the tack taken by Republican senators as all but two of them—Strom Thurmond (S. C.) and John Tower (Tex.)—voted for the much ballyhooed LBJ voting rights measure. It now goes to the House side where liberal Democrats are saying they hope to strengthen the measure, already considered harsh and restrictive by conservatives.

The senators did attach some softening provisions to the original LBJ proposal, but the bill was not significantly changed. It is still considered a patently political gimmick which discriminates even against those Southern areas which have provided the Negro the opportunity to register and vote.

In its main provisions, the bill is believed to represent a frightening repudiation of fair play—and the Constitution. It would still allow the attorney general, without benefit of proof or a court order, to send in federal registrars to seven states (five of which happened to vote for Sen. Barry Goldwater) and register illiterates.

The registrars would automatically go into states which use literacy tests and where less than 50 per cent of those registered voted in the November election (this is known as the "triggering device"). Federal registrars would be sent into every county of South Carolina, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi and Alabama; they would also go into several counties in Virginia and North Carolina.

The measure, furthermore, would also automatically strike down voting laws applying to federal, state and local elections. Thus laws which require a person to "demonstrate the ability to read, write, understand or interpret any matter," "demonstrate any educational achievement or his knowledge of any particular subject" or "possess good moral character" are to be abolished in areas covered by the triggering device.

The 1965 voting rights bill strikes yet another blow at the belief that voters in a democracy should be both responsible and literate.

In kowtowing to minority groups, the senators added the Javits-Kennedy amendment, which would allow persons in states not touched by the automatic triggering device to vote even if they don't understand one word of English!

The unfairness of the bill can be seen by the fact that federal registrars will be swarming into states like South Carolina, even though the Justice Department has *never* filed a voting suit against the Palmetto State for depriving any Negro of the right to vote.

The politically appointed registrars will also be dispatched to counties where Negroes are registered in large numbers: Arcadia Parish in Louisiana, for example, where 78.6 per cent of the Negroes are registered, will still get federal registrars. So will Allen Parish, with 81.6 per cent of the Negroes registered.

Hence the dismay by conservatives that Republicans, instead of standing by the Constitution, bowed to fears of being labeled anti-Negro and lined up with the liberals in voting for the voting rights bill.

Chamber Shifting Connally Stand?

The Chamber of Commerce may retreat from its recent stand in favor of repealing the Connally Reservation. This issue became a subject of much dispute at the Chamber's national meeting in May when a handful of delegates managed to get the Chamber on record as favoring repeal of the reservation, which now prevents the United States from being hauled up before the World Court without U.S. consent. The court contains jurists from Communist and rabidly anti-American countries.

Chamber leaders, however, are now considering submitting the controversial issue to a vote of local chamber chapters and affiliates because of a rash of protests from members.

Since the Chamber convention delegates endorsed repeal, 174 to 82, members have saturated Chamber headquarters in Washington with stinging letters. A majority of them, *Human Events* has been informed, are adamant against the Chamber's actions, with some pointing to the fact that only a small minority of the 3,000 delegates and alternates attending were recorded on the issue. (See *Human Events*, May 8.)

(While it has not been reported elsewhere, Erwin Canham of the *Christian Science Monitor*, who headed the Chamber's foreign policy committee and favored repeal, flatly told *Human Events* he didn't feel the opponents of repeal were allowed enough time to give their side.)

As a result of the protest letters, the 62-member board of directors, which meets in Washington June 26, is considering referring the issue to Chamber members for a vote. Local members are urged to continue bombarding the board of directors with letters asking for a referendum.

Those looking for ammunition in the fight against repeal of the Connally Reservation should write to Charles K. Pulse, Attorney at Law, Times Star Building, Cincinnati, Ohio. For a nominal cost, one can obtain his excellent "Questions and Answers on the International Court of Justice and the United States (Or Why the Connally Reservation Must be Preserved)."

Demos Halt GOP Aid Cuts

Democrats pushed through the House last week the $3.5-billion foreign aid authorization bill, rejecting a whole series of amendments offered by Republicans to cut out waste and implement methods to restrict the growth of communism (rollcall on page 2). The bill now goes to the Senate.

House Republicans came closest to changing the bill when they attempted to combine a $131-million cut in the development loan fund with a provision that aid sent to unions in South America should only go to non-Communist unions. These changes were sponsored by Representatives Ross Adair (R.-Ind.) and William C. Cramer (R.-Fla.). The measure lost 219 to 178, with 116 Republicans and 62 Democrats voting for it.

The Adair amendment to cut the development loan fund by $131 million had also been defeated in a separate vote earlier. Adair argued that the bill could well be reduced by that amount since $131 million was expected "to be in the pipeline as of June 30 of this year for the following countries: United Arab Republic, Cambodia, Indonesia, Algeria, Ghana and the Brazzaville, Congo." All these countries are anti-American.

Other changes rejected by the House:

• A measure sponsored by Cramer to make it mandatory for the President to cut off aid to countries which furnish assistance to the present government of Cuba. Cramer argued that most of the Communists engineering the Dominican rebels were "trained in Fidel Castro's Communist stronghold in Cuba" and that more Castro-aided uprisings will undoubtedly take place. At the present time, said Cramer, non-Communist countries are assisting Cuba by sending that country locomotives and heavy machinery, and that it was time to cut off their aid.

• An amendment sponsored by Lester Wolff (D.-N.Y.) to deny the United Arab Republic certain surplus food aid unless the President determines that such sales would be in the interests of "national security."

• An amendment sponsored by Vernon Thomson (R.-Wis.) to broaden the authority of those in charge of foreign aid to search out misuse of foreign aid funds. According to Thomson, Cambodia, Bolivia, the Dominican Republic, India, Pakistan and Spain all owe us money for putting our aid to illegal use.

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• An amendment sponsored by James G. Fulton (R.-Pa.) that American aid should be shut off from countries which fail to take adequate measures "to prevent personal injury to, unlawful imprisonment or detention or loss of life of United States citizens . . ."

Dominican Policy Sours

The Administration's Dominican policy continues to sour, with the United States Marines currently shielding the Communist-led rebels from attacks by the anti-Communist junta. Equally ominous, according to Latin diplomats, are the apparent concessions that LBJ's top foreign policy adviser, McGeorge Bundy, is making to rebel leader Francisco Caamano in Bundy's efforts to form a broad-based coalation government. Caamano told a news conference last week that his talks with Bundy were "very helpful" and had "substantially improved chances for a solution." (For more on Bundy's moves see page 6.)

One prominent senator friendly to LBJ is so worried about our apparent concessions to the rebels that he is preparing a personal memo to LBJ on the dangers of such a course of action.

Latin diplomats in Washington are still stunned that the United States is not only preventing the anti-Communist junta from defeating the rebels, but is pressuring the junta into accepting Antonio Guzman as head of a coalition regime. Guzman is a member of the party headed by radical-leftist Juan Bosch and was a cabinet minister under the Bosch government.

The Guzman selection, as pointed out in Human Events **last week, was all the more startling because he was head of the Dominican agricultural bank when it was involved in serious scandals.**

When this news broke into the newspapers last week, the State Department and Guzman threw fog and confusion over the story, but these essential truths have yet to be denied:

• That Guzman was head of the agricultural bank when serious mishandling of funds took place.

• That the Bosch-appointed general administrator of the bank, Rafael Jorge, ordered an audit of the bank's books by the internationally known accounting firm of Ernst & Ernst.

• That the audit was completed after Bosch was overthrown, but was submitted to his successor, Reid Cabral, in April 1965.

• That Cabral was astonished by what it contained and reached the conclusion he had to fire Guzman.

• That these were among the findings of Ernst & Ernst: a $75-million overstatement of assets; thousands of missing notes on which the bank passed out money, some of it to Guzman's friends; and that more than a million dollars of mortgage collateral was missing.

In spite of all this, however, Guzman, as of last week, remained Washington's fair-haired boy.

Baker Case Revived

Delaware's super-sleuth Sen. John J. Williams, a Republican who blew open the Bobby Baker case, has promised to take apart "section by section" an odious report drawn up by the Democrats' chief counsel on the Rules Committee which waded only part way into the Baker scandal because it left a trail leading to bigwig Democrats and the White House itself.

The chief counsel, Lennox McClendon, who has been accused of attempting to cover up the Baker affair, is the author of the report which, in effect, labels Sen. Williams a liar for what he said concering the case.

Williams has already challenged some parts of the report and contends that the Johnson Administration has mounted a "diabolically clever" campaign to slander him in order to take the heat off Baker.

The real aim of the assault against him, says Williams, is "to divert the attention of the American people from the real issue of his investigation; namely, what kind of influence-peddling were Bobby Baker and his associates carrying out in his office under the dome of the Capitol?"

By diverting the attention to the fight between the Democrats on the Rules Committee and himself, says Williams, the Democrats hope to "sweep the Bobby Baker case under the proverbial political rug. If they succeed it will represent one of the greatest hoaxes ever perpetrated on the American people. I am determined that it shall not succeed."

The report drawn up by the Rules Committee, charges Williams, not only criticizes him, but is mild in its criticism of Bobby Baker. The Democratic majority, he charges, almost apologizes for having to criticize him at all. Fully half of the report is directed toward praising the Democrats' investigating ability and the other half is "directed toward an attack on the character of witnesses who testified or who presented evidence against Bobby Baker."

"Why is the Administration so intent on criticizing me? . . . The decision has been made by the "Great Society" hierarchy that John Williams must be stopped. They are determined to save Bobby Baker from prosecution at all cost . . . ." Williams said that "instead of prosecuting Baker, they are actually making a national hero of him." Baker's vending machine business—Serv-U Corp.—was booming, said Williams, and it is still doing business with defense contractors as before.

The flinty, honest senator says he is not through yet in getting to the bottom of the Baker affair.

L.A. Times Marches Left

The influential Los Angeles *Times*, once a powerful citadel of conservative opinion on the West Coast, continues to veer toward "modern" Republicanism.

In a recent contest for a Los Angeles Board of Education post, the paper supported the ultra-liberal James Edward Jones, a Negro, over Marion Miller, who served many years as an undercover operative for the FBI and gave invaluable testimony to government officials regarding the doings of the Communists. Mrs. Miller lost in a close election.

The *Times* not only endorsed Jones, who participated in a mass march against the Board of Education in 1963, but played up attacks against Mrs. Miller, including a smear that she had never really done anything for the FBI. A written statement from FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover praising her role in ferreting out the Reds was buried inside the *Times'* pages.

(Attacks against Mrs. Miller were also mounted from the far left, including the May 15 Communist *People's World*.)

Conservative readers of the *Times* note with dismay that within the past year the paper has supported Nelson Rockefeller over Barry Goldwater, added Bobby Kennedy aide Ed Guthman to its staff and now supported a liberal over a conservative for the Board of Education.

Right-to-Work Win

The Democratic-controlled Iowa State Senate has defied labor demands to repeal the state's right-to-work law. In a startling 31-to-27 vote, senators defeated a union-backed proposal that would have legalized the union shop.

Seven Democrats joined 24 Republicans to save right to work. These Democrats demonstrated new courage as repeal of the right-to-work statute had been pledged in their party platform and Democratic Gov. Harold Hughes had made an unprecedented address to a joint legislative session asking repeal.

Hughes' 1962 campaign manager, Clemens J. Smith, clashed publicly with Hughes on the right-to-work issue. He was quoted in Iowa newspapers as saying:

"Don't think just because a man is a Democrat that he is automatically in favor of modifying or repealing the right-to-work law. Many Democrats are opposed to this. This is not strictly a political issue."

CAPITOL CAMERA

• Rep. Robert Dole (R.-Kan.) continues to attack the Administration's publicity-building program which has the President of the United States sending out certificates not only to veterans but to their relatives and friends. Rep. Dole, who says the whole program is a political gimmick, insists that the projected cost of the program is "somewhere around $4.5 million" and that as the bill is written "there is no limitation" on who can receive the certificates. The Kansas congressman reports that in fiscal 1963 there were 28 Veterans Administration employes devoting full time to this program at the very time "there was much talk about economy." Despite these objections a measure putting the program into law was railroaded through the House on May 17 with no amendments permitted.

DOLE

• *Few students of communism deny there is a split between Russia and China over many issues, but that hasn't prevented the Soviets from aiding the Chinese in the development of its nuclear capabilities. Recent newspaper reports reveal that Red Chinese scientists are now travelling to the Soviet Union to study up on nuclear matters.*

• LBJ's "War on Poverty" administrators thought last week that government of the poor, by the poor and for the poor might be a good way to kick off the poverty program in Philadelphia. A special election in which only those meeting the poverty standard of an annual income of less than $3,000 was held to choose 12 community action councils to administer the program. Of approximately 500,000 persons eligible, exactly 13,393 cast ballots, despite an all-out effort by anti-poverty officials to get the poor to vote. The vote was an indirect slap at Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D.-N. Y.) who has agitated for local officials to carry out the program in Harlem.

POWELL

• Newsweek *magazine has quoted an organizer for a Communist splinter group as saying, "We'd assassinate the President if it suited our ends. Don't think we couldn't do it." He is Mike Laski, 23, an organizer for the Provisional Organizing Party to Reconstitute the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party, U.S.A.*

• The formula of John W. Macy, LBJ's top talent scout, for recruting high-caliber government officials has been pooh-poohed in a letter to *Time* magazine. Says the writer, Clive Chapman of Sydney, Australia: "John W. Macy Jr.'s formula for selecting key staff for the Johnson Administration would probably eliminate . . . the President himself. It would certainly have eliminated Winston Churchill, who was not in the Phi Beta Kappa or Rhodes-scholar class. On the other hand, the formula might not have eliminated Alger Hiss. From outside one gains the impression that the U.S. is being taken over by textbook experts at a time when down-to-earth common sense is its greatest need."

MACY

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Bundy Group Using U.S. Aid to Pressure Dubious Coalition in Dominican Republic

From the Allen-Scott Report

President Johnson's policy-makers are using U.S. aid as a major diplomatic lever to force a coalition government in the strife-torn Dominican Republic.

Under Presidential Assistant McGeorge Bundy's personal direction, these free-wheeling diplomats are delaying or threatening to withhold approximately $25 million in economic and military aid until Brig. Gen. Antonio Imbert Barreras includes members of the Communist-infiltrated rebel forces in a provisional government.

In this strange diplomatic maneuvering, the Bundy group is flatly demanding that Gen. Imbert install supporters of former President Juan Bosch as recommended by Col. Francisco Caamano Deno, leader of the rebel movement, or face an indefinite freeze of U.S. aid.

Since the outbreak of fighting in Santo Domingo, the Bundy group has succeeded in embargoing a large amount of the $22.2 million in economic-military aid voted by Congress for fiscal year 1965, which ends June 30.

In addition to this aid freeze, Gen. Imbert was informed that future U.S. aid depends on his cooperation in forming a coalition government, which would include neutrals and pro-Communists.

This proposed aid, being dangled by U.S. authorities before Gen. Imbert, totals $14 million in economic and $2.4 million in military funds earmarked for the republic in the Johnson Administration's $3.3-billion foreign aid budget now before Congress.

While Gen. Imbert is making it clear his government needs and wants U.S. assistance, he has rejected the Bundy ultimatum, warning that a coalition government would lead to a Communist take-over and an anti-U.S. government in the Dominican Republic.

According to congressional leaders probing the backstage diplomatic activities of the Bundy faction, these pressure tactics are comparable to those that brought Fidel Castro to power in Cuba, and led to the ouster and assassination of President Diem in South Viet Nam.

In those tragic cases, State Department authorities, with White House approval, cut off or drastically reduced aid to the pro-U.S. governments, which were then toppled by internal forces. In Cuba the freeze on U.S. arms during the Eisenhower Administration directly helped Castro oust Batista, and led to a Communist regime.

While insiders report the Bundy group's secret objective in the Dominican Republic is to establish a "neutral or third force" government, many legislators are firmly convinced the outcome would be the same as in Cuba—a Communist regime controlled by Moscow.

Why President Johnson doesn't order his policy-makers and diplomats to throw this government's full political and economic weight behind the civilian-military junta of Gen. Imbert is one of the unexplained mysteries of the present Dominican crisis.

(Distributed 1965
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Gen. Antonio Imbert tells a Santo Domingo crowd that he will accept only unconditional surrender from the rebels.

Bound by 'No-Invasion' Pledge?

What Is LBJ's Cuban Policy?

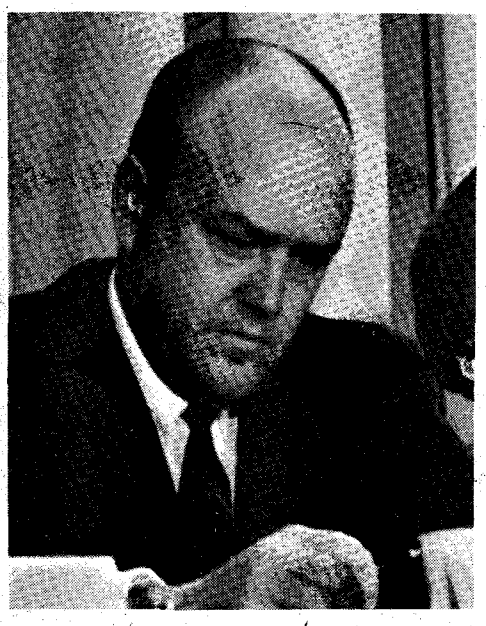
By TED LEWIS in the New York *Daily News*

Does or does not President Johnson feel bound by the "no invasion" pledge made by John F. Kennedy in 1962 in return for Nikita Khrushchev's removal of Soviet missiles from Cuba?

This is the key question which has been posed by Rep. Melvin R. Laird (R.-Wis.) in his political role as chairman of the House Republican Party Conference. Laird did not spell it out quite that way, but his intent was clear in his demand that the Administration clarify its policy toward Castro Cuba.

Johnson left himself wide open to the risk of a political pratfall on this Cuba policy issue because —as Laird pointed out—he talked so big about how "we cannot permit the establishment of another Communist government" in this hemisphere in connection with our military intervention in the Dominican Republic.

That statement appeared to serve notice that hereafter our Marines were handy to land anywhere south of the border should a Red takeover threaten. What Laird now wants to know is whether this policy does or does not rest on acceptance of the "permanent existence of a Communist Cuba," but simply on refusal to accept its ideological exporting attempts.



Rep. Melvin Laird (R.-Wis.) wonders if Johnson accepts Red Cuba as permanent.

The Johnson Administration has yet to make clear its policy toward Cuba. Until the Dominican Republic's troubles, it has never been under real political pressure to do so. Thus, it has preferred to keep its policy vague. As a result of inaction it has appeared to go along with the "no invasion"—"no blockade" Kennedy-Khrushchev deal of late 1962.

Since Kennedy is dead and Khrushchev no longer in power in the Kremlin, does the 1962 commitment still have to be adhered to? For that matter, can one President, even of the same party, make a policy decision binding on his successor?

That "no invasion" pledge by Kennedy was never, it should be pointed out, as solid a commitment as this Administration has been inclined, privately, to suggest.

In his message to Khrushchev at the height of the missile crisis, on Oct. 27, 1962, Kennedy agreed in return for removal of the missiles and a halt to further introduction of such weapon systems to "(a) remove promptly the quarantine measures now in effect and (b) give assurances against an invasion of Cuba."

But at a news conference on November 20 of the same year, Kennedy was much more ambiguous about the extent of the "no invasion" commitment. He said: "If Cuba is not used for the export of aggressive, Communist purposes, there will be peace in the Caribbean."

He reminded that what he had said in the previous September still held true, and that was "we shall neither initiate nor permit aggression in this hemisphere."

This was an inferential warning at least that the agreement with Khrushchev required Castro to behave himself—or else.

Even of more significance was what Kennedy said in Miami, Dec. 29, 1962, when he accepted custody of the flag of the Cuban invasion brigade at a ceremony on return of brigade members in the drugs-for-prisoners deal with Castro.

"I can assure you," said Kennedy, "that this flag will be returned to this brigade in free Havana." He stressed the importance of keeping alive "the spirit of the brigade so that some day the [Cuban] people will have a free chance to make a free choice."

Whether or not Johnson has considered himself honor-bound to support the "no invasion" pledge, which his predecessor later appeared more circumspect about, is yet to be made clear.

LBJ did have an opportunity, however, to establish his own policy in that respect, and he passed it up. That chance came on Feb. 6, 1964, when Fidel Castro cut off the water to our Guantanamo naval base.

This was an act to which a response by our Marines—at least on a limited invasion basis—would have had general free world support. But Johnson, in February, 1964, did not move with the dash and dispatch with which he sent the Marines into Santo Domingo.

Instead, he brought in water by sea. It was Barry Goldwater then who wanted the Marines to invade and turn the water on. And in the following 1964 presidential campaign Johnson made much of how his opponent was a warmonger in the Guantanamo incident and he the great peace-maker—outfoxing Cuba's two-bit Red dictator by letting him have his way.

It should be noted that we are still using our own water at Guantanamo —having spent $5 million to build a permanent salt-water conversion plant at the base.

In hindsight it looks like Goldwater had a valid point when in the spring of 1964 he said: "After Guantanamo, who's going to be the next little dictator to thumb his nose at us and get away with it?"

But he was talking about the 1964 Johnson, not the 1965 version.

In hindsight, however, it is unlikely that the President will have as good an excuse again to get rid of Castro as he did when the Guantanamo water was cut off.

The Guantanamo incident is one basic reason for the suspicion of Laird and other Republicans that the Administration is operating on the basis that Communist Cuba is an ulcer which we don't dare remove.

It is argued that this is a policy "inherited" by the Johnson Administration. But times have changed. Khrushchev is not around. Peking has enough to worry about in Southeast Asia. So Laird has a perfect political right to ask whether our Cuban policy has been updated, and if not, why not?

□ □ □

MORE NEW AGENCIES—Twenty-three new federal agencies have been created since the Democrats came to power in 1961. They include the National Council on the Arts; the Federal Development Planning Committee for Appalachia; the Office of Economic Opportunity; the President's Commission on Consumer Interests; and the President's Commission on Registration and Voting Participation.

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Will Johnson Ever Run Out of 'Problems'?

By BARRY GOLDWATER

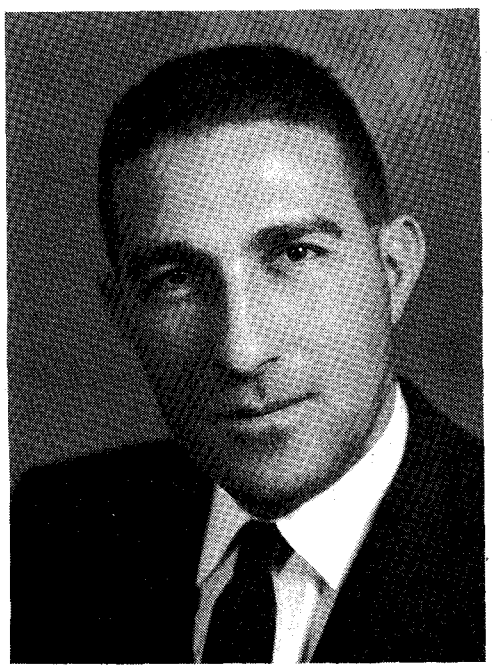
A curious concern is brewing in the Johnson Administration these days over how to keep the domestic pot boiling in the years ahead.

Some Washington observers refer to this government phenomenon as "the problem problem." In essence, it is the "problem" of how to keep the so-called crisis approach to legislative action alive if we run out of "problems."

The Johnson Administration so far has been steeped in the crisis approach. Every old legislative chestnut in the book has been dusted off, given a new coating of urgency and rushed to Capitol Hill with a "must" label from the White House.

As a result, the Senate and House are rapidly wiping out the stockpile of problems with which they have periodically wrestled over the years. If things proceed as President Johnson intends, and there is every reason to believe they will, the current Congress will clean up such matters as federal aid to education, Medicare, urban renewal, housing, civil rights, poverty and so on before it adjourns next fall. Where then will the "Great Society" turn for new legislative targets?

President Johnson is deeply committed to the problem or crisis technique, as were his predecessors in the



Interior Secretary Stewart Udall feels every American has a right to "open his eyes in the morning and see trees."

New Frontier and the Fair and New Deals. He wraps every request to the Congress in thousands of words testifying to the need and the immediacy of the problem involved. And he firmly believes this is the surest route to legislative enactment.

These words have a way of haunting a President in subsequent years—providing the Congress takes them to heart, accepts his appraisal of the situation and enacts his recommendations. It leaves the President without much to say in subsequent messages.

Those who have watched the liberal Democrats in action over the years see the Administration's concern over the "problem problem" as strictly academic. Whatever the merits of their proposals, they can be depended upon with a great deal of imagination to develop one so-called domestic problem after another, regardless of the actual need.

Some liberal elements are now at work on an alleged problem, the correction of which could bring a whole multitude of other problems in its wake. The argument is that the present minimum wage of $1.25 an hour is too low to permit an adequate standard of living. This is the problem. The proposed solution is the passage of legislation raising the federal minimum wage standard to $2 an hour.

How does the solution of this so-called problem add new problems? A boost in the minimum wage brings unbearable economic pressure on many marginal employers who can't afford to pay the new minimum. Some are forced out of business; others must curtail their operations. More affluent employers, faced with higher wage demands, immediately put into effect plans for speedier automation. The result is loss of work for low-income employes and a boost in the unemployment force.

Another alleged problem the liberals are currently eyeing involves the present poverty level. The suggestion is that the level of $3,000 a year is too low and should be boosted to $5,000. Such an increase would add many more people to America's poverty-stricken population and require drastic new federal programs.

Still another problem is tied to the Administration's arbitrary decision that what America needs today is more beauty. Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall has been quoted as saying every American has a right to "open his eyes in the morning and see trees." Imagine the federal action for this one goal. If Uncle Sam underwrote the cost of providing trees for the eyes of desert dwellers alone it would wipe out national unemployment in one fell swoop.

(Copyright 1965, Los Angeles *Times*)

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"POVERTY" NONSENSE—Columnist Richard Wilson has bluntly accused Administration leaders of talking "nonsense" about poverty in this country. Writing in the Washington *Evening Star*, Wilson notes: "Included among the poverty-stricken are the handicapped, those who may be only temporarily in bad straits, people who own their own homes, cars and television sets and live respectably on modest pensions, graduate students who will soon be making good incomes and many other classes falling within the $3,000-per-year qualification . . . The policies of the government itself may tend to perpetuate conditions of poverty as in the case of an agricultural program which inexorably and unavoidably hastens the decline of the family farm as the source of a decent living."

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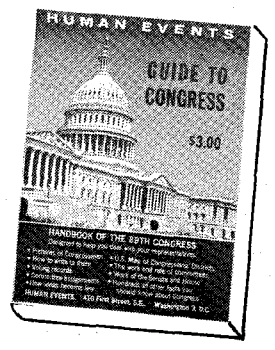

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Right-to-Work Debate Picks Up Steam

LBJ's Mysterious 'Conflicts'

From the Richmond *News Leader*

President Johnson's pay-off message to the labor leaders was short and direct; and when he got to the repeal of Section 14b of the Taft-Hartley Act—the state right-to-work clause—he was downright curt. He said:

"Finally, with the hope of reducing conflicts in our national labor policy that for several years have divided Americans in various states, I recommend repeal of Section 14b of the Taft-Hartley Act with such other technical changes as are made necessary by this action."

And that was all he said—the concluding paragraph of a message devoted to many labor matters. We shall have occasion to comment on them all as the debate develops; but today, our text is the President's.

We are especially interested in these "conflicts in our national labor policy that for several years have divided Americans in various states." We thought that conflict was what the business of free government was all about.

We are instructed by the Constitution that the state-federal system is based on the notion that the citizens of some states might want to choose local policies that differ from those of other states. If we followed the President's reasoning every time he proposed a new law, conflicts on policy would be tantamount to treason.

But as we read 14b, no room can be seen for conflict at all. As the Taft-Hartley law now reads, the country does indeed have a uniform national labor policy. That policy is to allow individual states to ban the union shop if their people want it that way. And the policy to let states do as they will is based on the idea that men should be allowed to work where they will, without paying compulsory tribute to a private organization.

Our national labor policy is twice voluntary—and whenever there are free men, there is bound to be conflict. The only way of eliminating healthy conflict is by compulsion. That is why Mr. Johnson would sanction compulsory unionism.

Let's get it straight: So far as a "national labor policy" is concerned, there is only one issue involved in right-to-work. And that issue is whether a union will thrive and its members prosper under the compulsory concept or under the free concept. No other nation in the Western world has decided that its unions are so inadequate and incompetent that workers must be forced by law to join under pain of starving.

Is it just coincidence that union membership is declining in the United States even in areas where there is union shop? Is it a freak of economics that unemployment is greater in union shop states? Is it some sinister anti-union conspiracy that has caused right-to-work states to raise their wage rates faster than the national average?

Courtesy Cincinnati *Enquirer*

These are facts which some people steadfastly refuse to believe, as is their privilege. Labor leaders seem to feel that the advantages of union membership are so inconsequential that the typical worker cannot understand the benefits. Or these same leaders selfishly feel that those who don't join up get a free ride from union exertions.

Unfortunately, union members who find that their dues go to support political candidates and programs not of their own choice are taken for a ride too. President Johnson may think that the right to choose is divisive, but we beg for the right to differ.

Public Strongly Supports Sec. 14b; President Will Have to Twist Arms

By FULTON LEWIS JR.

Leaders of the AFL-CIO are convinced that an all-out White House drive will be necessary if Congress is to strike down right-to-work laws in 19 states.

In his long-delayed labor message, the President acknowledged a political debt to Big Labor and urged repeal of the Taft-Hartley provision, section 14b, that permits the enactment of state right-to-work laws.

It remains to be seen, however, how far the President will go in pushing for repeal. Victory is by no means certain and the Administration may postpone indefinitely a bruising fight that could very possibly end in humiliating defeat. If the President is reluctant to make 14b a major issue, it is understandable:

- A poll conducted by the highly respected Opinion Research Corp. of America reveals that "67 per cent of the American people believe that no citizen should be forced to belong to a union in order to hold a job."

- Editorial comment has been heavily against repeal. Only recently, *Life* magazine urged the President to leave 14b intact.

- Influential businessmen who last fall supported Johnson have lined up against repeal. A citizens' committee to preserve Taft-Hartley includes among its leaders a co-chairman and a vice-chairman of Businessmen for Johnson-Humphrey.

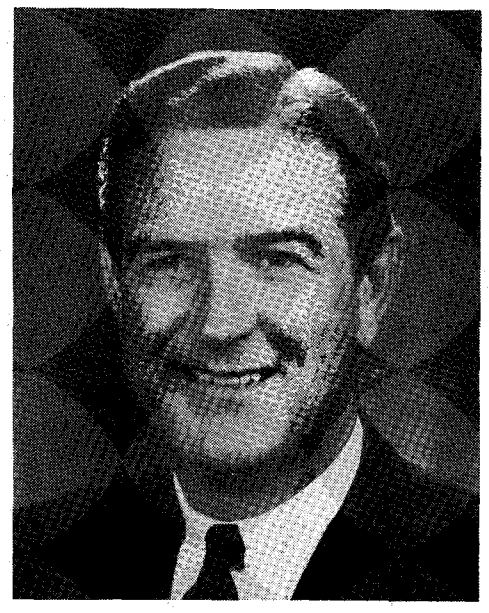
Big Labor lobbyists admit privately they now lack the votes for repeal and that several Administration stalwarts are likely to desert. Typical of these is Arizona's Morris Udall, a staunch liberal elected with strong labor support.

Public opinion polls conducted by Democratic members of Congress have produced some surprising results. San Diego Democrat Lionel Van Deerlin, an outspoken liberal, found that his constituents supported 14b by almost 3-1.

Another Administration loyalist, John Monagan of Connecticut, polled his constituents and found they, too, favored retention of 14b, although by a smaller margin. Neither California nor Connecticut, it should be noted, has a right-to-work law.

Reports from the President's home state of Texas indicate that feeling there is strongly against repeal. The state Democratic party has gone on record against repeal, as has the state's Democratic governor, John Connally. Rep. O.C. Fisher, a Democrat, reports that voters in his district back 14b by an 8-1 margin and other Texas congressmen disclose similar results.

Republican House Leader Jerry Ford is known to feel that Johnson can expect no more than 10 Republican votes (out of 140) for repeal. He learns from his mail that popular feeling against repeal is running strong.



Texas Gov. John Connally has wired each of his state's congressmen asking support of 14b.

Michigan Representatives James Harvey and William Broomfield find that 14b is supported 3-1 in their districts. Illinois Rep. Charlotte Reid reports a similar trend.

If prospects for repeal appear murky on the House side, they are no better in the Senate. The National Right-to-Work Committee reports that 43 senators back 14b, 40 favor its repeal, and 17 are undecided. A filibuster is possible if the Administration attempts to jam a repeal motion through the Senate.

Note: Other sections of the President's labor package are expected to meet strong opposition in Congress. Rep. Glenn Davis, Wisconsin Republican, is particularly angry over the presidential recommendation of double pay for overtime work. Such a law would deepen the nation's balance-of-payments problem by reducing the ability of American producers to compete in world markets, Davis says.

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PRESIDENT JOHNSON wants the right-to-work laws repealed. The "Great Society" offers so many benefits to loafers that it soon will seem almost wrong to work.—By Nathan Nielsen in the Omaha (Neb.) *Evening World-Herald*

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REP. JOHN BALDWIN (R.-Calif.) has polled his constituents and found they oppose Medicare, favor an end to foreign aid for left-wing "neutrals," oppose the Supreme Court's reapportionment decisions, favor retention of the Taft-Hartley Act's Section 14b and oppose the $2 minimum wage pushed by big labor.

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-Close Congressional Vote Expected

Personal Freedom at Stake

How Can 'Liberals' Favor Repeal?

By JAMES JACKSON KILPATRICK

Of all the political phenomena under moon or sun, few are more curious in this country than the astounding contradiction in philosophy that sees the liberals, God save the mark, demanding the repeal of Section 14b.

It is this section of the Taft-Hartley Act which sanctions the "right-to-work" laws that operate in 19 states. Organized labor has been demanding for years that the section be wiped out, and if another 15 or 20 hard votes can be found in the House, out it will go.

From a standpoint of sheer self-interest, one can understand the viewpoint of the labor spokesmen. The more union shops, the more union dues; the more union dues, the more union power, the more union power, the more political leverage, and so forth. Over the country as a whole, gains in union membership have not kept pace with gains in population. Repeal of the right-to-work laws presumably would bring a bonanza to union treasuries.

It is not at all easy to understand the position taken not only by President Johnson but by many others in public and academic life in support of the repeal proposition. As for the President, it is said that "he owes his election to organized labor"; but this is bosh. A man who carries 44 of the 50 states, swamps his opponent in the Electoral College, and runs up a record margin of nearly 16 million votes, owes his election to nobody.

On this issue, Lyndon could spit in labor's eye if he felt so disposed.

Officially, the explanation given by the President in his recent message was that the right-to-work laws have led to conflicts in labor policy "that for several years have divided Americans in various states." Repeal of Section 14b, he hopes, would reduce these conflicts. This feeble rationalization is cribbed from the Democratic national platform adopted last summer. It was a lame reason then, and it is a lame reason now.

These alleged conflicts have not been provoked by the advocates of right to work, but by the union opposition. It is a remarkable thought that the man who picks a fight should be appeased just to stop the fight.

The "liberal" secretary of labor, Willard Wirtz, was the chief administration spokesman against 14b.

On the record, these right-to-work laws have not contributed to labor unrest; the government's own statistics prove the contrary. Neither have they tended to depress industrial wages or to destroy unions. In terms of the ordinary workings of our economy, the truth of the matter is that, in these 19 states, the right-to-work laws have done very little. They are symbols.

Symbols of what? Symbols of a high American principle—the principle of individual freedom. If logic and labels meant anything, you would expect to find the country's liberals in the very forefront of those defending this principle.

The very word "liberal" comes out of the Latin root that deals with man's freedom from a tyrant's rule. By the most elementary definition, liberalism embraces an advocacy of individual rights —an advocacy, as we are so often told, of "human rights above property rights." And surely in the field of racial affairs, the liberal position is a stout defense of minority rights.

None of these considerations seems to matter when it comes to Section 14b. It is an amazing thing. Here is the American Civil Liberties Union which ordinarily yells its head off in defense of personal freedom and minority rights. The ACLU, on 14b, is as quiet as the grave. Recently, the story was that labor had 200 of the 218 votes it needs in the House, and many of these 200 are members with no particular debt to organized labor. They are presumptive liberals, pursuing what has become the liberal line.

It would be pleasant if some of these gentlemen would retreat to their studies and think long and hard upon the rights of the individual worker who simply does not want to join a union. Under the union shop system, if 51 per cent of his bargaining unit vote for the union shop, his free choice is removed. Enter the press-gang.

In the bogus name of "reducing conflicts," he is dragged rebelliously into an unwanted association, his property is taken from him in the form of compulsory dues and assessments, and he becomes subject to a union leadership he may despise. His alternative is to quit.

How can liberals defend this? Is a right to work not one of those basic, unenumerated rights, which under the Constitution is "retained by the people"? Surely it would seem so. Yet here one sees men who profess their liberalism with one hand seeking to abridge personal freedom with the other. Those of us who style ourselves conservatives find this hard to understand; but then we were liberals ourselves, long before our friends on the left kidnapped the label and applied it to their own reactionary bases.

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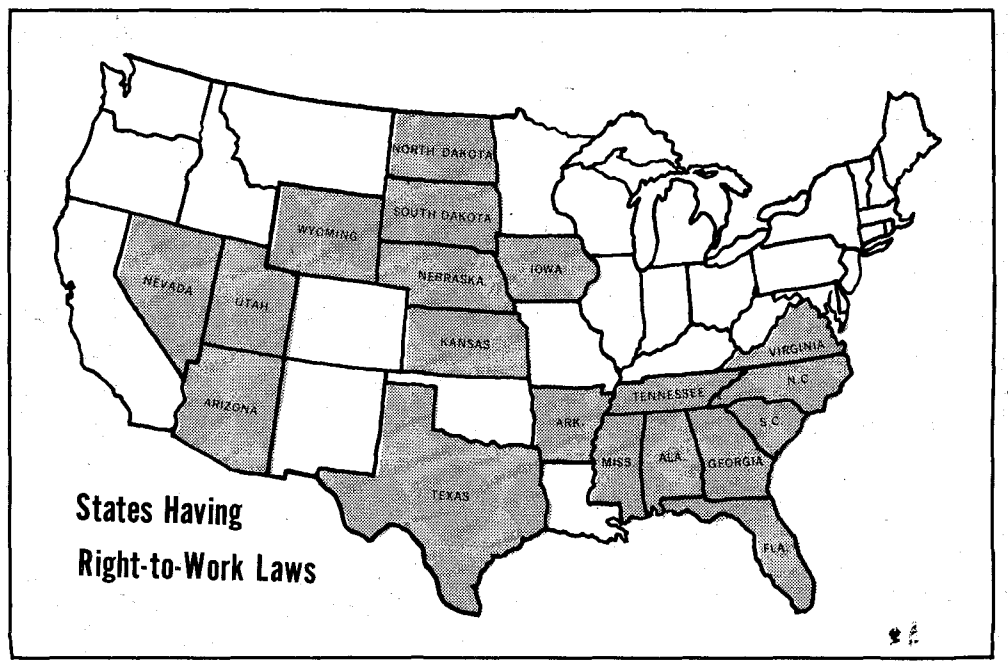


Labor Will Have New Demands

By VICTOR RIESEL

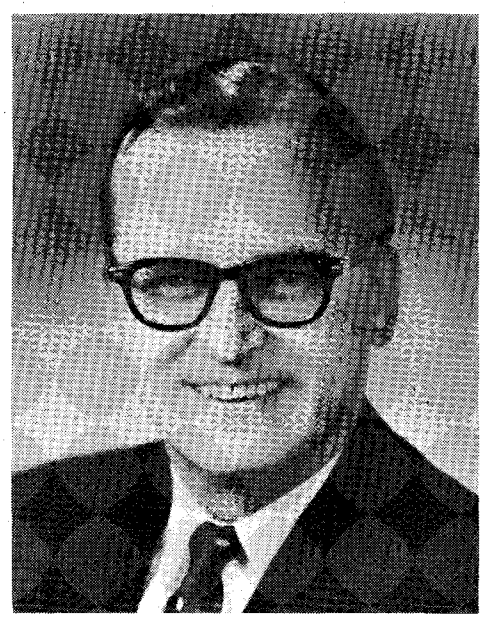
Labor's lobbyists already are flocking [to Washington for the right-to-work fight]. But even as they converge on the Congress, the union chiefs are seeking new vistas. What will they urge next?

A hint of this is in an unreported telegram dispatched to the President recently by Hunter Wharton, the mild ice-cream-soda-drinking president of the powerful Operating Engineers Union. The wire urged the President to appoint a special task force immediately to begin planning a vast Mississippi River Flood Control Authority.

Wharton told the President that his union colleagues felt that a master plan should be drawn up speedily for a network of dams and reservoirs which would match the Tennessee Valley Authority.

The union, which is one of the strongest in the AFL-CIO Building and Construction Trades Union Council, believes that if billions can be spent abroad to aid other nations in similar projects, certainly similar funds should be spent at home. The expenditure of billions would, of course, not only end the threat of floods—such as the recent disaster which killed 15 persons and destroyed $200 million worth of property —but would also create scores of thousands of jobs.

This is but one bid for huge public works which soon will have the entire labor movement behind it.



Labor support is expected for $2-billion public works bill sponsored by *Rep. John Blatnik* (*D.-Minn.*).

Another campaign can be expected to boost a bill introduced by Minnesota's Congressman John Blatnik calling for a $2-billion public works program. As the AFL-CIO research people see it, the money would be spent for construction of museums, libraries, public buildings, repairs of streets and the laying of sewage systems.

And when the next Congress rolls around, labor again will seek the President's aid in a drive for a new minimum wage of $60 a week—and a shorter work week at that.

But first things first. And the first thing is to organize their legions behind the President, right now.

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Right-to-Work Statistics

The 19 states with right-to-work laws lead the nation in rate of economic growth.

- While the country as a whole showed a 3.3 per cent decline in the rate of creation of new manufacturing jobs in the period 1953-63, the right-to-work states had an increase of 12.8 per cent.
- The top three states in the nation in rate of new jobs created by industry are right-to-work states: (1) Nevada, (2) Arizona, (3) Florida.
- According to the Office of Business Economics of the Department of Commerce, in the period 1953-63 per capita personal income in right-to-work states increased 43.7 per cent, while that of non-right-to-work states increased only 35.4 per cent. In total personal income increase in those years right-to-work states also outperformed the others, 70.3 per cent to 60.2 per cent.
- Hourly earnings by manufacturing workers increased 46.7 per cent from 1953 to 1963 in the right-to-work states; for non-right-to-work the increase was 41.5 per cent.
- Six of the fifteen states with the highest average weekly earnings for production workers are right-to-work states.

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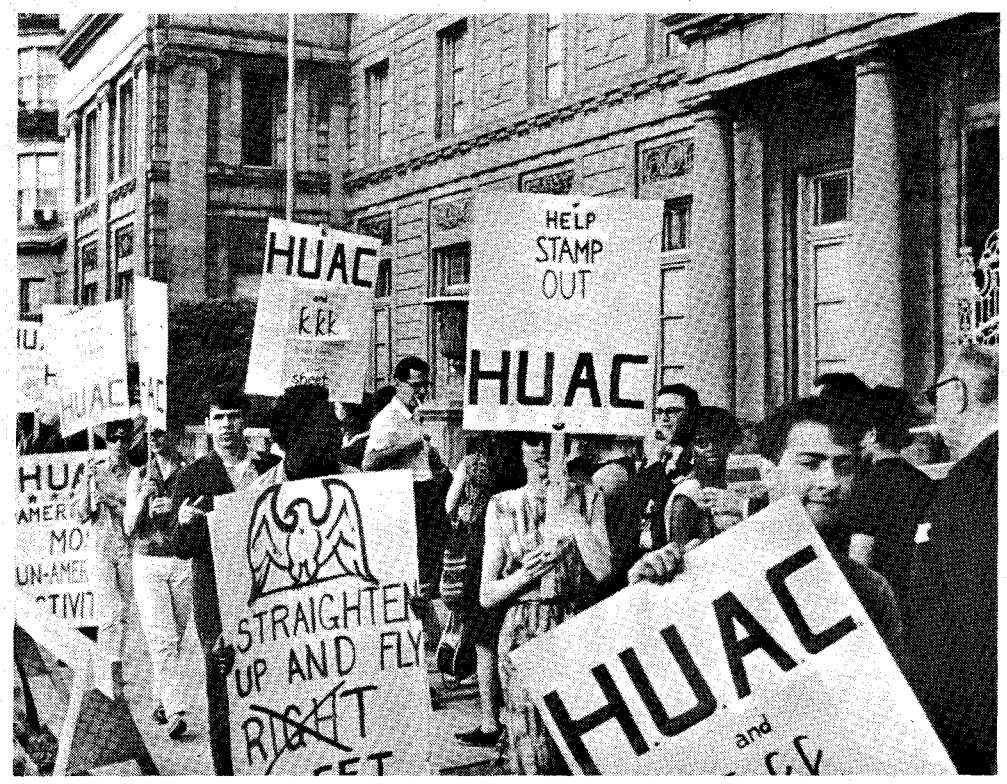

Youthful demonstrators protest against the House Committee on Un-American Activities hearings in Chicago last week.

Disruptions from the Left

From the San Francisco *Examiner*

• President Clark Kerr of the University of California was the first to say that Communists were involved in the student rebellion that rocked the Berkeley campus last autumn.

• During the period of greatest unrest, the *Examiner* published photographs of demonstrators and identified several as members of the Communist party.

• Now it is revealed that FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover told a congressional committee last March that at least 43 individuals with Communist backgrounds played active roles in the explosive developments at Berkeley.

• Dr. Stefan Possony, of Stanford University's Hoover Insitution, told a Senate committee: "The radicalization of American youth is proceeding beyond the wildest expectations of the Communists."

The evidence is clear. It should be convincing. The Communists are in our midst. They are active. They are destructive.

This is not to say that all who participated in the autumn of unrest at Berkeley were Communists. Far from it. Most of the participants were honest, honorable, patriotic young citizens pursuing what they regarded as legitimate aims.

The Berkeley technique is one the Communists have long used. They seek out protest issues that have legitimate overtones. Then, through the skillful manipulation of loyal citizens, they are able to mask their own divisive and alien purposes. They let others do their dirty work.

In the past they have either instigated or infiltrated demonstrations against our actions in Korea, in Lebanon, in Cuba, in Laos and more recently against our actions in Viet Nam and the Dominican Republic. The Communists have involved themselves in petitions and parades against our nuclear tests, our atomic submarines and our military appropriations.

These activists were strangely silent, however, when the Communist powers gobbled up Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Poland, Albania, China, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, North Korea, North Viet Nam, Tibet and Cuba.

There were no peace marchers when Communist tanks and guns crushed the revolt in Hungary by slaughtering tens of thousands of citizens who sought only a sliver of the freedom possessed by the most oppressed in our nation.

There were no protests recently when Red China detonated its second "dirty" nuclear bomb in the atmosphere.

Let those who tear up their draft cards and those who preach against our nation's actions in Viet Nam and the Dominican Republic take a long and searching look at the tragic pattern of appeasement that preceded World War II:

• Japan moved into Manchuria and we took no action.

• Mussolini moved into Ethiopia and we took no action.

• Hitler moved into the Sudetenland and we took no action.

• Stalin moved into Finland and we took no action.

The world paid a terrible price for appeasing this kind of wanton aggression. More than 50 million men, women and children died during six years of the most horrible and costly war the world has ever known.

That tragic war might have been avoided if the peace-loving leaders of the world had shown the same courage and the same convictions that have characterized the actions of President Johnson in meeting the Communist challenge in Viet Nam and the Caribbean.

Today the Communists seek to infiltrate and influence those who sincerely question our international policies. They would subvert a healthy national debate into a weapon for weakening the hands of our leaders.

Let those who are urged to speak or march in protest against our policies look deep into the motives of those who do the urging.

Before you tear up your draft card —before you condemn the military— before you march in peace parades— ask yourself:

"Does this serve freedom . . . or slavery?"

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Who Engineered Big Switch?

Demonstrators Abandon Civil Rights For Viet Nam and Dominican Protests

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

The American college students—or at least the fringe percentage of the undergraduates who envy their demonstration-happy opposite numbers in the banana republic universities of the Caribbean area—might well consider the proposition that they have been had. And American Negroes might go along with the students in doing their share of meditation on recent history.

In a brilliantly speculative column, datelined Washington, Mr. Frank Conniff remarked the other day on the sudden switch of the campus demonstrators, both hard-case and amateur, from the civil rights movement to the get-out-of-Viet Nam-and-Santo Domingo movement. It was his guess that the switch was one of fashion: carrying banners for the peace-at-any-price cause had become the "hip" or the "swinging" thing to do.

Since suggestibility, or contagion, certainly explains a lot about the spread of intellectual fashions, Mr. Conniff is obviously on the beam in his surmise. But the theory of suggestibility implies that there is someone around to do the suggesting. The question is, who were the Typhoid Marys that set the civil rights marchers off on the entirely different tack of trying to discredit President Lyndon Johnson's actions in the Vietnamese and Dominican crises? •

Anyone who tries to answer this question will surely risk being ripped up the back as a McCarthyite. But the coincidence of Communist needs (both those of the Soviet and Maoist variety) for action on Viet Nam and Santo Domingo and the switch in internal American campus protests from civil rights to international "peace" is a glaring one. The Communists are in unforeseen trouble in Southeast Asia and in the Dominican Republic precisely because Lyndon Johnson's policies have been effective in both places.

Hence it is entirely logical that their phony interest in the American Negro's cause inside the United States should suddenly be consigned to a secondary position while they pull out all the stops to encourage "teach-ins" and marches and letter-writing marathons and $5,000-per-page advertisements in big newspapers to the end of destroying President Lyndon Johnson's conviction that he is on the right path.

The order to go all-out on the "anti-imperialist" demonstration front was issued by the Kremlin on March 3 in Moscow in the form of one of those low-key bundles of cliches that arouse no one at first save the initiated.

"The representatives of Communist and workers' parties," so the order read, "call the attention of all the progressive and peace-loving forces . . . to the dangerous situation created by the expansion of military intervention by the U.S. imperialists in South Viet Nam and by the acts of aggression against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. We call on all . . . to promote unity of action and solidarity in the active struggle against imperialist aggression."

Since this order went out, there has been a marked change in the ratio of civil rights articles and "anti-imperialist" articles in the local American Communist press. At least 80 per cent of the space goes to foreign affairs matters today. Not so long ago the civil rights movement was getting most of the space.

The Negro civil rights leaders who have fallen for the leftist contention that the South Vietnamese people and citizens of the Dominican Republic don't need protection in their own hopes for civil rights against Communists should reconsider their position.

Surely Martin Luther King wasn't helping his own cause when, in Boston, he remarked, apropos of the supported nuclear menace of U.S. policy in Viet Nam, that "it is very nice to drink milk at an unsegregated lunch counter—but not when there's Strontium 90 in it." The Rev. King might reflect that if any Strontium 90 has been released into the upper atmosphere in recent months, it could only have come from the Red Chinese and Soviet nuclear explosions.

As for the student protesters on Viet Nam, this columnist is quite willing to believe in the innocence of at least 99 per cent of them. But the rank-and-file members of all those organizations of the "new left" might legitimately begin to look for Communist Typhoid Marys in their midst. The theory of fashion demands a fashion-maker, and you can't have a hypnosis without a hypnotizer.

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Sabotage at Bien Hoa?

From the Allen-Scott Report

The Air Force is launching an investigation in the United States as well as in Viet Nam to determine whether sabotage was involved in the explosions that wrecked the Bien Hoa air base and took a record toll of U.S. lives there.

With FBI help, Air Force Inspector General William K. Martin is probing reports that the initial explosion was triggered by a defective part installed by a saboteur at a U.S. shipping area or the factory where the bomb was produced.

If either case is confirmed the Chinese Communist and North Vietnamese leaders will have made good their boast of extending their anti-U.S. operations to our shores.

In the initial details furnished the Senate Armed Services Preparedness subcommittee, the Air Force revealed that the Bien Hoa losses represented 10 per cent of America's nuclear-capable B-57 fleet. Twenty-six Americans and four Vietnamese were killed and 102 wounded, including 95 Americans, when a line of bomb-laden planes waiting to take off exploded like a string of giant fire crackers on May 16 in the worst U.S. military disaster of the Viet Nam war.

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ARTIST SPEAKS OUT — Famed Missouri artist Thomas Hart Benton said recently he would resign from the American Academy of Arts and Letters if that organization does not publicly repudiate remarks made about Viet Nam by its president, Lewis Mumford. Mumford denounced the American action in Viet Nam at a meeting, during which Benton, a Democrat, walked out in protest.

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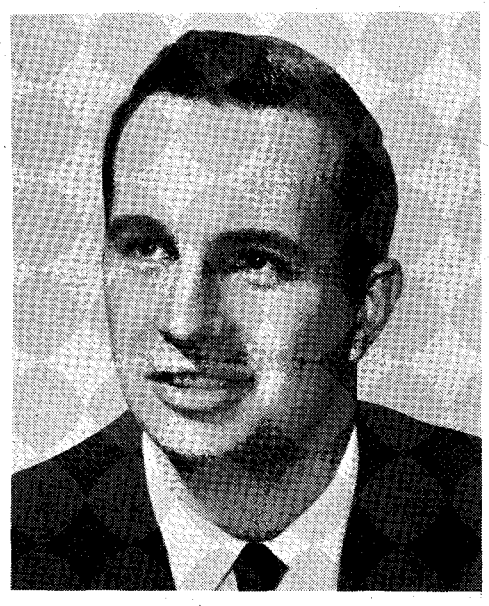
Education Bill's Loyalty Oath Is Under Fire

By RALPH DE TOLEDANO

At a time when the American college student is the target of an all-out campaign to subvert his loyalty and make him a part of the Communist-Castroite conspiracy in this country, efforts are being made in Congress to eliminate the loyalty oath from the $570-million bill for federal aid to higher education.

Sparking this effort is Rep. Ogden R. Reid, a Rockefeller-Javits Republican from Westchester County, N.Y. A bill introduced by Mr. Reid will complete prior and successful action to knock out the non-Communist affidavit from science and education programs financed by the federal government. The non-Communist disclaimer was dropped after a number of universities refused federal funds because of it. These universities had their way and returned happily to the public trough.

Just what Rep. Reid, once known as "Brownie" in his less statesmanlike days, hopes to achieve by his bill remains a mystery. Certainly, there are



Rep. Ogden Reid (R.-N.Y.) is spearheading drive to knock out non-Communist affadavit.

not enough college presidents in his district to improve his hold on a reasonably safe seat in the House. And there has been no march on Washington from constituents demanding a repeal of the loyalty oath provisions of education bills.

Whatever has prompted Mr. Reid, his present stand on this and other issues marks a considerable departure from what he once believed. Before he reached up for the legislative toga, Brownie Reid held strikingly different views on such matters. As boss man on the New York *Herald Tribune*, he took a strong anti-Communist line. It was Mr. Reid who hired Herbert Philbrick, a counterspy for the FBI who had infiltrated the Communist youth movement and revealed its secrets to the federal courts.

Anti-Communists were given aid and comfort by the young Mr. Reid. He himself helped write a notable series on Communist sabotage in the United States.

After he left the newspaper business, Mr. Reid tended to show some regret for these youthful excesses. Since then, he has moved steadily to the left of the conservatism he once espoused, and he was one of those who held open the gate for liberalism in the Republican party.

The move to eliminate loyalty oaths and non-Communist affidavits is consistent with his present thinking, but it makes no sense to those who see the inroads being made on American campuses by the "Castro revolution" and the newly revitalized Communist youth movement. To make federal money available to those who are working overtime to subvert the American educational system is lunatic, suicidal, and destructive of the intent of the aid-to-education measure.

The argument has been advanced that businessmen and farmers do not have to sign loyalty oaths or non-Communist affidavits before they are handed a federal loan or subsidy. The answer to that might be: Why aren't they? But there is considerable difference between aid to a business enterprise and involvement in the educational process.

The young people who benefit from federal aid are on the firing line of the Communist battle. Many of them will continue as teachers, where their effect on the minds and the thinking of young students will be most pervasive. Many will move into laboratories working on research in defense fields. Even those who are attending college preparatory to a medical or legal career—or to a life in the business world—will share in the opinion-making function of the educated.

In terms of national security and national sanity, education is our most sensitive area. Can the country afford to encourage and reward those whose antagonism to our institutions is so great that they refuse to declare their loyalty to them? The question answers itself.

Parenthetically, one aspect of the debate over the loyalty oath perplexes me. Why should it be considered shameful to declare one's loyalty? Every day millions of school children pledge allegiance to their country in these United States. Their souls are not bruised by it, nor are they being deprived of constitutional rights. As to the non-Communist affidavit: What is wrong in disclaiming organizational ties with world subversion?

Rep. Reid might answer—directly and not by citing irrelevancies.

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PARADOX—Rep. H.R. Gross (R.-Iowa) notes the Administration seeks to curb foreign travel so it can reduce the balance-of-payments deficits, then asks why National Parks Service Director T. Sutton Jett recently flew on government business to Monaco, "long a favorite playground for Europe's millionaires."

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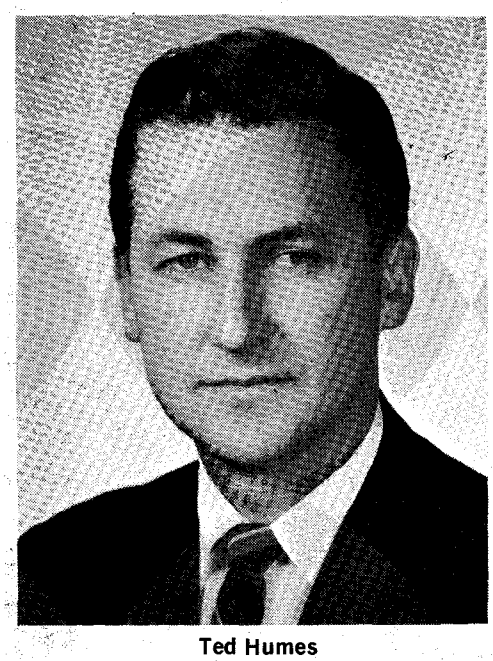
A Streetcar Named Despair

How big labor and liberal politicians destroyed a transit company in Allegheny County, Pennsylvania

By TED HUMES

For a great many years, the privately owned and operated Pittsburgh Railways Co. served the Pittsburgh region well. This community-minded enterprise did a reasonably competent job of serving hundreds of thousands of working people, shoppers and students daily shuttling back and forth over hills and through valleys and elsewhere in the rugged countryside of Greater Pittsburgh and Allegheny County.

It gave employment to thousands of workers, kept turning in a modest



Ted Humes

profit and, just prior to World War II, completed a massive replacement of its rolling equipment by the addition of brightly colored street cars. The company had every reason to expect to share in the area's booming economy and mushrooming suburban growth after the war. And for a period it did.

Then, in the late 1940s, a series of system-wide strikes took place which ultimately catapulted the firm into near bankruptcy and eventual dissolution.

Left free to bargain with the union in a true spirit of labor management mutuality, it is quite possible that the company would be in business today. But it was unable to resist the demands of a powerful labor union, aided and abetted by a union-backed city administration which used relentless pressure to coerce a "settlement."

The first strike lasted some three months. By the time it was settled, a substantial number of former users had made satisfactory car pooling arrangements and did not return. An increase in the basic fare also had the effect of discouraging many riders. Faced with declining revenue and passengers, the company trimmed its operating personnel and eliminated some of its lesser-used routes. Naturally the affected riders squawked, but post-war Pittsburgh came to understand this pattern well in the hectic years that followed.

First the union would refuse to negotiate or submit to arbitration and would announce a definite strike deadline to enforce its exorbitant wage demands. Streetcar riders would immediately form car pools, purchase their own cars or seek other means of transportation downtown. The railroads helped considerably by adding substantially to their commuter service during the emergency.

Mr. Humes is a public relations executive in Pittsburgh.

The city's downtown merchants bore the brunt of the strike as city residents, comprising the bulk of the buying public, had no means of transportation. The pressures from downtown merchants, combined with the adverse publicity being generated by the newspapers and the labor-dominated city hall, inevitably caused the company to cave in.

The strike was settled, wages went up, passengers declined, revenue declined, routes were curtailed, more men were laid off, and the entrenched power of a labor monopoly had achieved another "victory."

There is no question that the growth of automobile ownership and the exodus to the suburbs was a factor in the company's demise. Since, however, the firm had always enjoyed a good passenger business in the suburbs well into the post-war building period, this latter factor did not contribute significantly to its end.

In 1963, after intolerable pressures from politicians and unreasonable demands from labor unions, the company finally caved in and was absorbed by a public authority. This is essentially what the union leadership had been aiming at for some time—municipal ownership and an easier path for its annual pay demands, with the increases to come out of public tax funds. In fact, such was the belief in the efficacy of "municipal ownership" that the clamor for municipal ownership as the "perfect solution" to Pittsburgh Railway's troubles had come not only from the unions, but from many business interests, civic groups and the communications media.

However, from all indications, this Utopian dream of modern and fast transportation for everybody at low cost, pay raises for employes—and headaches for nobody—has in fact turned into a nightmare.

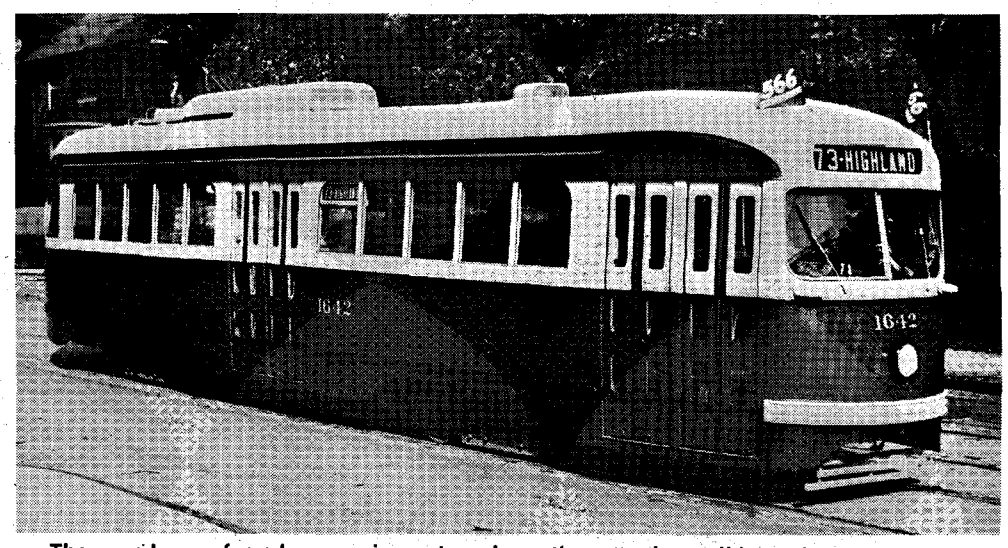
In its first encounter with the Port Authority over pay negotiations, the union found out that if a venture is a losing proposition, even a municipal authority cannot reach into some bottomless purse. The union's threat of a strike was met head-on when the authority resorted to legal action to compel acceptance of its offer. There was none of the give and take experienced when Pittsburgh Railways Co. was in private management.

And what of the authority and its promises of a cure-all to the district's transportation problems? Very little. It has been faced with steadily mounting losses; its deficit for 1964 was $1.7 million and its deficit for only the first quarter of 1965 was $1.1 million (in January 1965 alone it was $350,000). Of course the fact that its employes are among the highest paid in the country may have a lot to do with this sad financial picture.

So the authority—as seems inevitable with most public agencies—has turned to Uncle Sam to bail it out to the tune of $22 million for capital improvements, including new equipment, construction and repair. The transportation administrator of the Federal Housing and Home Finance Agency has already approved the initial plan (indeed, when are such spending programs ever disapproved?).

And what of the unions? They want a substantial pay increase in order to keep their status among the highest paid drivers in the country—"and if it has to come out of the general tax revenue, let it come" their spokesman recently yelled, "we're not interested in where it comes from."

It is a familiar story: a private, tax-paying venture forced to the wall by rapacious big-labor unionism, eventual absorption by an "authority" or other quasi-governmental agency that pays no taxes, the superimposition of a bureaucracy, additional losses and ultimate recourse to the federal government to finance capital expenditures and to local taxpayers to finance extravagant wage demands.



The purchase of modern equipment such as the car above did not help the Pittsburgh Railways Co. with its labor troubles.

Makes Marxism Irrelevant

Automation Liberates Workingmen

By ALICE WIDENER

Deeply interested in the sociological problem of automation, I traveled to Lyon to visit the Dognin Co. factory, the only one in France that manufactures *les dentelles de Tergal*—exquisite laces made from DuPont synthetic fibers and elastic-synthetic fiber. Thanks to automation combined with superb artistry, the manufactures of this French firm are available for wear and use by women throughout the world at prices the average pocketbook can afford.

Founded in 1805, the Dognin Co. was first to experiment with the loom invented by Joseph Marie Jacquard (1752-1834) which the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* describes as "the most important contribution to the art of loomed textiles."

The Dognin factory is in itself a graphic illustration of sociological and economic transition, being divided into the old part mostly operated with traditional Jacquard looms and techniques, and the new part, which is highly automated and operated with advanced new techniques practiced by young employes.

The huge electronically controlled furnace in the new part (which heats a lace tablecloth, for example, to 225 degrees centigrade so that it will drip dry and not require ironing) is operated by a highly paid young specialist who is in every way characteristic of the new worker exercising brains—instead of brawn.

He earns many times more and has a much more interesting job than the foreman who used to boss laborers stoking a coal furnace. And those less-educated workers who in the past might have been stokers are today truck drivers, packaging operators, shipping room clerks, etc.

"Here in France, and indeed throughout the Common Market area, there is very little opposition to automation," explained Laurent Isaac, president of Dognin, which was founded by his ancestors.

"There is almost no unemployment in my country; in fact, the whole Common Market area suffers from a lack of workers. But still more important, there is prevalent over here a new understanding of the benefits of automation."

Robert Blanc-Marrel, a top executive of Dognin, explained that in 1905 the factory employed 1,200 laceworkers. "Today there are 250 who produce vastly more goods than then. But the decrease in actual lacemakers is more than compensated for by the great increase in personnel engaged in designing, processing, distributing, marketing and advertising our products. Moreover, our increased production and sales have stimulated all the artistic, creative aspects of lacemaking so that there is a happy marriage between creativity and automation."

As Messrs. Isaac and Blanc-Marrel escorted me through the entire factory and underground caves containing a multi-million-dollar asset in designs, I recalled my girlhood visits to French convents where lovely lace was made by hand in very limited quantity for luxury consumption. The artistic pride shown by the convent lacemakers is duplicated by the Dognin laceworkers, who displayed for me their beautiful manufactures in which human skill retains its preeminence.

On my return to Paris, I read a newspaper account of a lecture in Bayonne by the French intellectual Georges Friedmann who says, "Automation transfers work to nonmanual workers, thus relieving the proletariat from its position as that special, martyred class which was the object of social barriers."

In talks with intellectuals, entrepreneurs and labor officials in the Common Market area, I have learned that automation is now viewed as the real emancipator of the working class and as the working man's best hope for social progress.

"Automation is making Marxism irrelevant," said a brilliant young French lawyer, Maitre Jean Michaux. "Freed from performance of servile, backbreaking tasks, man can become man and develop his true nature as a thinking person, not a beast of burden or mere tool."

It seems to me that in Lyon I found the correct interpretation of automation—it transfers work, enlarging workers' social and economic opportunities.

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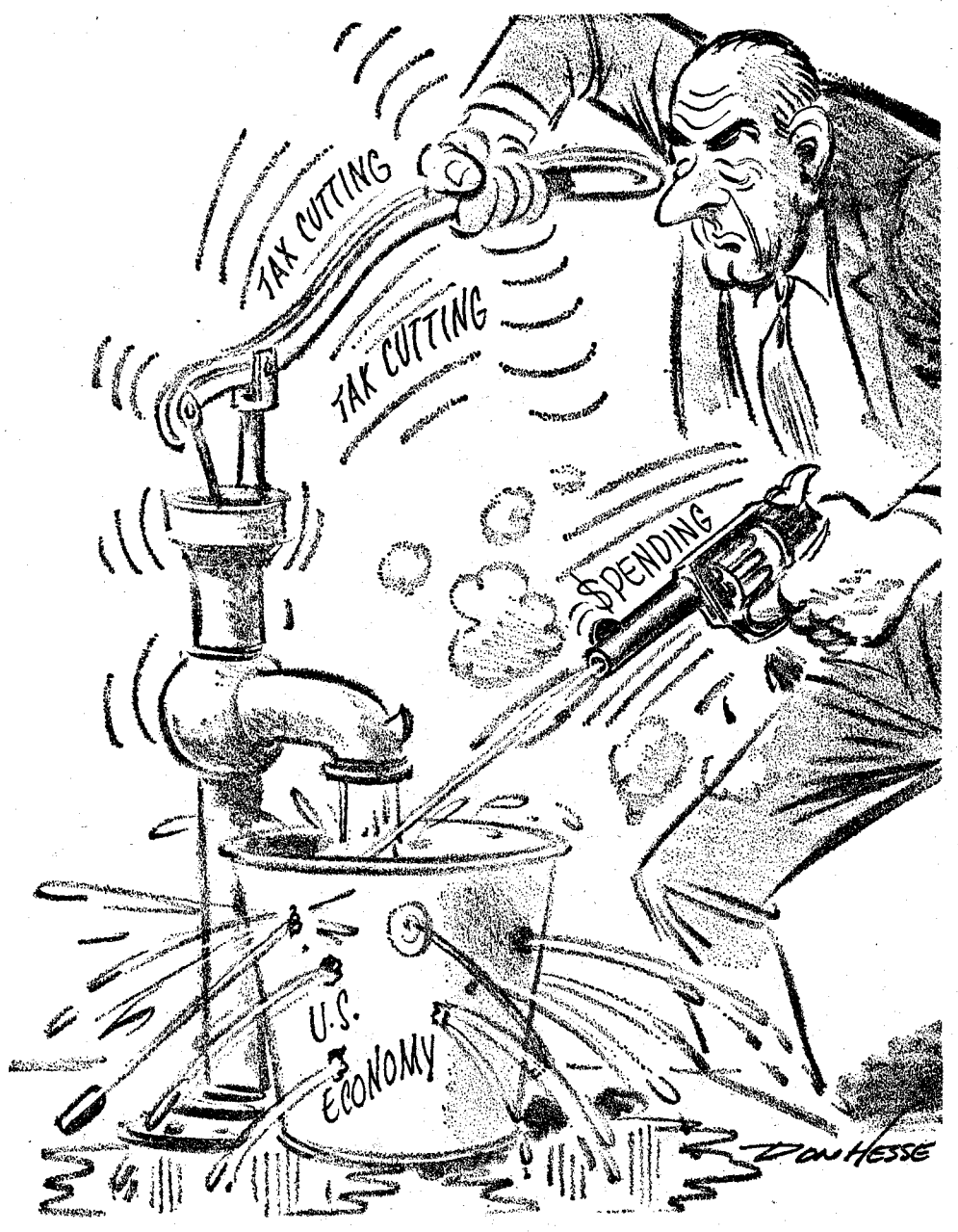

Courtesy St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*

Despite Excise Cuts

Government Will Find New Taxes

From the Rockford (Ill.) *Morning Star*

President Johnson's proposed excise tax reductions have wide popular appeal. Reduction and elimination of wartime excises are long overdue.

The taxpayers will find, however, that the federal tax burden they carry is not going to be reduced. Revenue lost through reductions in excise taxes will be regained through new taxes in other forms.

The Administration has no plans to reduce its heavy spending operations. It is going to get the money to continue its expensive programs.

Timing of the excise tax reductions proposed by President Johnson is intended to help offset a $5-billion-a-year boost in Social Security taxes scheduled for next January 1. Under the Administration's excise tax plan, automobile owners will be hit by higher federal gasoline taxes and other "user charges" to finance the federal transportation system.

President Johnson called for a two-stage excise tax reduction totaling $3.5 billion effective next July 1 and Jan. 1, 1966. An additional $464 million in excises would be removed each January 1 from 1967 through 1969.

The total package of excise cuts sent to Congress is twice as big as the $1.75 billion the President proposed in his budget message to Congress in January. His decision to raise the figure reflected in part a realization that Congress was eager to enlarge the original proposal. The House Ways and Means Committee will get to work promptly on the excise tax reductions. Indications are that program will speed through Congress.

Government economists have been fearful that the increase in Social Security tax collections due to start next January 1 would tend to slow the economy because of the reduction in consumer purchasing power. This concern is bound to hasten implementation of the excise tax reduction program.

Reductions in the manufacturers' excise tax on new automobiles is counted on as a major spur to the economy. This tax would drop from 10 per cent to 7 per cent immediately and to 5 per cent in 1967. The other big revenue producer to be cut is the 10 per cent levy on local and long distance telephone calls. This levy would drop to 3 per cent next January and to zero by 1969. The proposed cuts will apply to a wide variety of retail excises.

These "temporary" levies have been aptly described as nuisance taxes. Many of them are discriminatory. It is time a start was made toward eliminating them. But you can be sure the government will find ways to make up the revenue losses and then some.

□ □ □

NOT AS I DO—Former Secretary of the Treasury Douglas Dillon frequently urged Americans to travel at home so as to alleviate the balance-of-payments problem. When he resigned earlier this year and was questioned about his personal plans, he commented, "travel abroad."

Federal Grants Harm Education

From the Dallas *Morning News*

For years the U.S. government has been disbursing enormous sums to colleges and universities in the form of research contracts and special grants. Last year the figure approached $2 billion. Much of this money, of course, has contributed to the advancement of scientific research and served to bolster both the nation's economic and military security. It has also been a windfall for many centers of learning.

But according to Gerald Piel, publisher of the highly respected *Scientific American* magazine, federal research contracts to colleges and universities have also done a great deal of harm. In a recent speech at the annual meeting of the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia, Mr. Piel launched perhaps the sharpest and heaviest broadside of criticism against the research contract programs to date. His list of grievances is long.

To begin with, he said, the programs are highly discriminatory. The big schools get most of the money—10 of them receiving nearly 40 per cent of federal research and development funds and 10 more getting the next 20 per cent. Mr. Piel stressed that he is not opposed to federal aid to higher education and research. But he charged that the research programs—operated under the myth that federal funds are handed out not as aid but for contract work—represent a "subterfuge" for federal aid.

As such, they exclude smaller institutions from subsidy. This "discrimination," he said, is perpetuated partly by the fact that representatives of the larger institutions benefiting from the contracts are allowed to sit on panels that determine where the contracts and grants are to go. The result is that the large and powerful universities get most of the money.

Mr. Piel actually is more concerned about the adverse effect of these contracts on the big centers of learning, not the smaller schools excluded from the program. Federal funds, he noted, account for a third of Harvard University's total budget, and at other universities the subsidy runs as high as 85 per cent. Few of even the richest centers of learning, he claims, would be willing to do without this support—even though many of them are now as concerned as he is by the adverse effects of the aid and federal controls that come with it.

Among those effects, Mr. Piel stressed the following:

- The rift between the sciences (which are aided) and the humanities (which are not) has widened.
- The teaching function has been downgraded in favor of pure research.
- The universities' role as "agents of free inquiry" and "centers for the independent criticism and surveillance" of federal policies has been weakened.
- The loyalties of professors to their institutions has been destroyed. Turned into "mercenaries of science and scholarship," professors have a new alma mater in Washington. "After the fashion of Madison Avenue account executives," says Piel, the modern research professor "is in a position to take his staff and his grants elsewhere if the university does not meet his terms."

All of this, he sums up, reduces the integrity of higher education and undermines the independence of the nation's major universities—a high price to pay even for so much largesse.

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Grand Jury Hands Down Indictments In Grain Scandal USDA Belittled

It was just 20 months ago when Sen. John J. Williams (R.-Del.) told the Senate about the disappearance or illegal diversion of an estimated 24 million bushels of feed grains valued at $32 million supposedly shipped to Austria under one of the U.S. aid programs. The sensational scandal was revealed July 16, 1963.

Almost immediately after Sen. Williams' Senate speech, the Department of Agriculture, under the direction of Secretary Orville L. Freeman, issued a press release belittling the charge and contending there was no evidence the government had lost money or that there had been anything improper in the handling of the grain.

On May 13, 1965, in New York City, a New York grand jury returned indictments against firms and individuals, charging conspiracy to defraud the government. The indictments, Sen. Williams told the Senate May 14, alleged thousands of tons of the feed grains, obtained at bargain prices, ended up in eight European countries and in two Communist countries where it could be sold at just below the higher world market price!

Of course Mr. Freeman's USDA has now locked the barn door by tightening controls and requiring certification of delivery. Previously, only a bill of lading had been required.

Book Review

Reds Stir Seething World Cauldron

By WALTER TROHAN

There are times when the world appears to be a huge caldron seething with menaces such as Viet Nam, the Dominican Republic and Cuba conjured up by the incantations of communism after the manner of the weird sisters dancing around their hellish brew in *Macbeth* as they sang "Double, double toil and trouble."

The image of these hags comes to mind in reading *Trouble Abroad*, an independent survey of world affairs by nine contributors, including a senator, a member of Congress, a general, a professor, a war hero, a news commentator and other experts on foreign affairs. The volume is published by Crestwood Books, Box 301, Springfield, Va., at $3.

All of the contributors identify the enemy as communism, where it was evil in Macbeth, and they identify the priestesses of witchcraft as false checking of premises in the State Department, abandonment of principle and appeasement.

The compiler, Bryton Barron, a Rhodes scholar who had 17 years of service in the treaty division of the State Department, observes that the book

Bryton Barron, long-time State Department official, compiled Trouble Abroad.

is published because there has been incontrovertible evidence in recent years that usual sources of information, private as well as official, cannot always be trusted.

Donald Marquand Dozer, professor of Latin American history in the University of California at Santa Barbara, writes that even while denouncing Fidel Castro some policy makers venerate him as a prophet of the future in Latin America. He says:

" 'Castro is carrying the flag of the United States, the flag of social reform in Cuba, but we cannot support him,' declares one high Washington official. In effect, he was proclaiming '*Viva la revolucion comunista.*' "

Duane Thorin, a helicopter pilot who was captured by the Communists in Korea after rescuing more than 100 men from enemy held territory, finds that the root of our troubles is our basic foreign policy.

"That war, [Viet Nam] and many other troubles abroad, were due at their outset to Communist aggression," he writes. "But their protraction and continued irresolution are due precisely to the fact that overriding objectives of our foreign policy forbid a decisive conclusion to them, militarily or otherwise."

Sen. Strom Thurmond (R.-S.C.) presents an analysis of military policies, listing his disagreements with Washington officialdom. Rep. H.R. Gross (R.-Iowa) says there is little comfort in President Johnson's statement that no new nation has become Communist in the last four years when we note the drift of Egypt, Indonesia, Cambodia, Algeria and Ghana.

Gen. Bonner Fellers, top aide to Gen. Douglas MacArthur in the Pacific, blames foreign aid for the flight of gold from America as well as for compounding our foreign troubles. Pierre Artuge and Henry J. Taylor show the Pandora's box of difficulties American policy has opened in Africa.

Suzanne Labin, the French expert on the Far East, casts up the accounts of American foreign policy in Asia. This Joan of Arc of anti-communism may leave little room for anyone to stand to her right, but few can deny her premise that "if liberty is extinguished in Saigon, it becomes darker in Paris" and in every town in America.

Finally, Dr. Fernando Penabaz, American-educated Cuban lawyer, looks upon Latin America and concludes that Castro can be halted and ultimately liquidated if Washington officialdom shows as much determination in defending freedom as Castro and communism do in spreading Marxist-Leninist totalitarianism.

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USIA's "BALANCED PICTURE" —A leading advertising executive has ripped the United States Information Agency in testimony before the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Arthur E. Meyerhoff of Chicago attacked the USIA policy of broadcasting "both sides" in an effort to paint a "balanced picture" of American life. USIA officials should get out of the news business, he said, and into the selling business. He was sharply critical of a recent USIA publication distributed in Poland, with 35 pages of news and pictures devoted to American race riots. "This agency," he said, "is long on information and short on reason." Meyerhoff, the executive head of Arthur E. Meyerhoff Associates Inc., supported creation of a Freedom Academy to train government workers in the techniques of cold war. Students would learn methods of counteracting Soviet propaganda and ideological warfare. USIA staffers, said Meyerhoff, "have not emerged from the rarified atmosphere of the academic world and still cling to antagonistic theories and attitudes toward selling, advertising, or any method designed to persuade the masses."

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FEDERAL AID TO STATE and local governments will total $9.2 billion in the 1966 budget, Rep. Craig Hosmer (R.-Calif.) has revealed. Only two years ago, in the 1964 budget, the total was $5.7 billion. Eighteen states are paying more in federal taxes than they receive, Hosmer disclosed. These states include California, New York, Illinois, Ohio, Indiana and New Jersey.

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SPOTLIGHT on CONGRESS

"Millions of dollars in U.S. aid and special favors to Dominican sugar interests failed to stop the onward march of communism in that small republic. U.S. dollars do not buy friends or guarantee stable governments."—Rep. Odin Langen (R.-Minn.)

Smearing Conservatives

By REP. JOHN ASHBROOK (R.-Ohio)

I take this time to again call attention to the recurring effort of many news commentators and writers to treat the left and right in American political thinking in a different and, I feel, unfair manner. I have pointed out several occasions where the New York *Times* referred to "far right" or "right-winger" while at the same time calling their counterpart "liberals" with no adjective.

In the Washington *Post* column of Rowland Evans and Robert Novak, which was carried on Sunday, May 9, 1965, we once again see this device. I point this out with particular interest because it has long been the stock in trade of Marquis Childs, Walter Lippmann and other writers of the left but not Evans and Novak. They have usually been fairer. Referring to the seven Democrats who voted against the $700-million additional authorization for Viet Nam and the Dominican Republic military ventures, Evans and Novak charitably referred to them as super liberals.

Now there is a real label—super liberals. In the same article they refer to a "group of right-wing Republicans who financed Ronald Reagan's speeches." Now, tell me Rowland and Bob, why is it "far right" or "right-wing" when it comes to conservatives and Republicans but it is only "liberals," or in this case "super liberals" when it comes to the other side of the political spectrum?

This is not to take anything away from the small group of congressmen which opposed the President's request. They are very ardent in their views but by any honest political termination they would be as far left as the right-wing backers of the Ronald Reagan speeches of last fall. Why is it that most writers continue to use this unfair terminology in labeling the various shades of American political thought?

The conservatives never seem to get a fair break. Is this deliberate? You can read the New York *Times* for weeks and rarely see "left wing," "far left" or "leftist" but they label most conservatives by the "far-right," "right-winger" label.

Student Demonstrators

By REP. CHARLES GUBSER (R.-Calif.)

The recent demonstration by students at the White House against our Viet Nam policy was certainly no credit to our modern academic community. The students were handing out copies of the Young Socialist *and other extreme left-wing literature. Most of them appeared as unclean, bearded misfits and hardly "all-American" kids. It must be more than coincidence that two demonstrations in San Francisco were timed to dovetail with the student "march" on Washington. Permits for the demonstrations were obtained by Tom Richards on behalf of several organizations and Leslie Evans on behalf of the Progressive Labor Movement and the Young Socialist Alliance, both Communist front organizations. Richards is an official of an organization cited by the attorney general as Communist. Academic freedom is still a sound principle. But if the free speech movement at the University of California and recent Communist-inspired student protests against our policy in Viet Nam are its products, then I suggest that we've had a one-sided application of the principle. The vast majority of educators deserve immunity from the implications of this column. It is unfortunate that the actions of a few have reflected unfavorably upon so many.*

LBJ and Poll Tax

By REP. H. R. GROSS (R.-Iowa)

At a White House press conference on April 27, 1965, President Johnson said:

"I have always opposed the poll tax. I am opposed to it now . . . While a member of Congress, I initiated and supported a Constitutional amendment to repeal the poll tax in federal elections."

His statement does not square with the facts, for between 1940 and 1960 Lyndon B. Johnson voted *against* repeal of the poll tax on 12 occasions.

Minority Rights

By REP. JOHN ERLENBORN (R.-Ill.)

Majority rule has always been the essence of our political system—but only after careful consideration has been given to the opinion of the minority. Majority steamroller tactics have been considered foreign to our way of life and our political beliefs. If the first hundred days of the 89th Congress are anything to judge by, these beliefs have been discarded.

Foreign Aid

By REP. EDWARD DERWINSKI (R.-Ill.)

The 1965 foreign aid bill is a greater insult to the intelligence of the American public than any one of its predecessors. The public is not being told the truth about the philosophical inconsistencies or administrative defects of the program. I do not believe that the Congress is being told the truth. As a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee, I do not believe that testimony we receive in either open or executive session from executive branch officials is completely legitimate. . . .

Supposedly the fundamental reason for the foreign aid program is to halt the spread of communism, yet so-called "neutralists" with strong leftist tendencies are among the major beneficiaries of the program.

From an administrative standpoint, repeated General Accounting Office reports dramatize the inadequate personnel discovered in the AID agency, and the repeated use of funds for impractical, inconsistent projects is annually reported to us, yet the Administration rejects any suggestion that a thorough review and overhaul of the program is in order.

Growing Crime Rate

By REP. RICHARD POFF (R.-Va.)

In testimony before a House subcommittee this week the attorney general said that since 1940 the crime rate in the nation at large has doubled; and between 1963 and 1964 it rose 13 per cent. Some have tried to explain away these figures by pointing to the dramatic growth in population in recent years. The explanation simply does not hold water. As the attorney general pointed out, since 1958 the crime rate has increased five times faster than population growth.

Capitulation in the United Nations

By SEN. JACK MILLER (R.-Iowa)

Although I have been supporting the Administration's policy of firmness in dealing with Communist aggression in South Viet Nam, I have warned that this policy, to be effective, must be matched by firmness in other international relations. Efforts to persuade the leaders in Hanoi to cease and desist from aggression will be undercut if they get the idea that the leadership in this country probably will back down eventually. Basically it's a test of strength between two ideologies, and we can be sure that the leaders of other nations are measuring our character by what happens in other places besides South Viet Nam.

Probably the worst damage in a long time to our reputation for steadfastness in standing for principle recently occurred in the United Nations—the worst, at least, since the Administration backed down from the agreement by the Soviet Union to have on-site inspection in Cuba by U.N. representatives.

What happened was a change from our firm policy of insisting on adherence to Article 19 of the Charter of the United Nations to a policy of accommodation with the Soviet Union's flagrant violation of Article 19.

The change came in a statement by the U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, Adlai Stevenson, before a special committee on peace-keeping operations, that the United States would consider and negotiate "procedural modifications" of Article 10 "if the members of the United Nations think it desirable to take into account any strong political objections to peace-keeping operations on the part of a permanent member of the Security Council." In fairness to Mr. Stevenson, one should realize that such a statement would have been cleared with, if not directed from, Washington.

Last fall Ambassador Stevenson, speaking for the Administration, said that we would insist that the Soviet Union not be permitted to vote in the General Assembly. This was in line with Article 19, which provides for loss of vote when a member nation is more than two years in arrears in its payment of dues and assessments, as interpreted by the International Court of Justice. (Actually, there are 12 member nations over two years in arrears, including France, but the biggest delinquent by far is the Soviet Union, which has threatened to pull out of the United Nations if Article 19 is enforced.)

It was rumored that the secretary general would not rule on the point if raised by the United States, but would refer it to the membership of the General Assembly for a vote. And with 71 of the 114 members delinquent, a total of $132 million in their dues and assessments to some extent (51 of them to which we extended foreign aid last year were more than one year behind), one might well wonder how the vote would come out.

A motion to adjourn the assembly was made on February 18 and, in order to permit adjournment, the United States allowed the Soviet Union to vote on a parliamentary question raised by Albania without making a point that under Article 19 she had lost her vote.

Last August the House (351-0) and the Senate (voice vote) adopted a resolution, endorsed by the State Department, urging that financially delinquent members be subjected to loss of vote under Article 19. Now we learn that the State Department has donated $60 million to the U.N. special fund from which the United Nations is borrowing the money to meet its current bills. (It is around $300 million in debt now.) With the lack of a sense of financial responsibility of so many of its members compounded by the capitulation of the United States to the Soviet Union in its flaunting of the U.N. Charter, the future of the organization is in serious jeopardy.

Sen. Miller says the United States has damaged its reputation for standing on principle.

I have been warning of financial disaster in the United Nations ever since I came to the Senate, and each year I have offered an amendment to the foreign aid bill providing that no foreign aid will be extended to any nation more than one year behind in its dues and assessments to the United Nations except in very special cases determined by the President. Each time the State Department and Administration leaders in the Senate have opposed the amendment on the frivolous argument that we are not supposed to be collectors for the United Nations. I intend to keep working for such an amendment.

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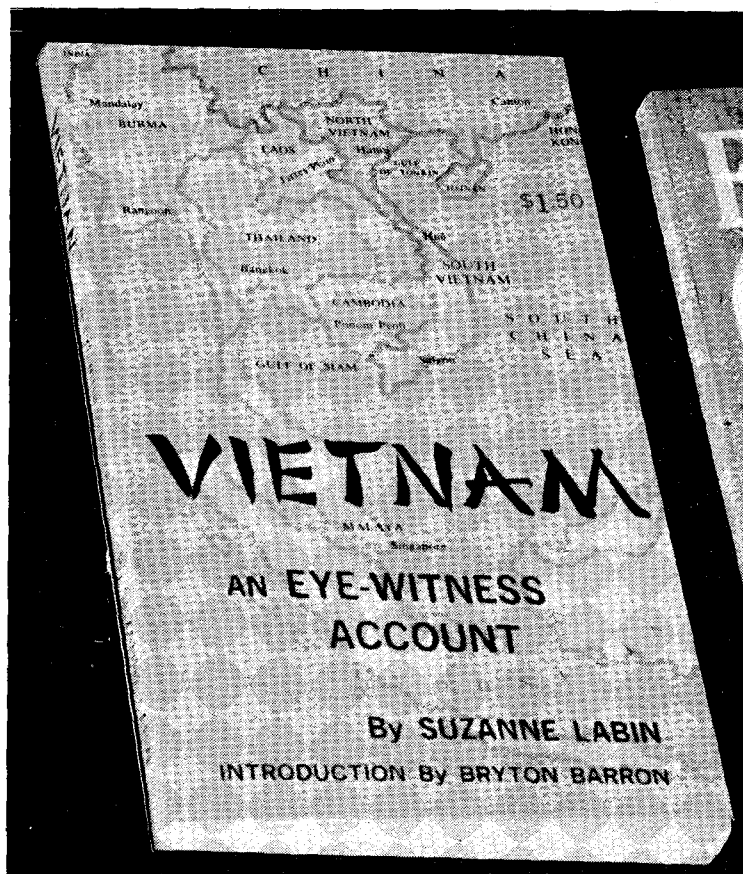
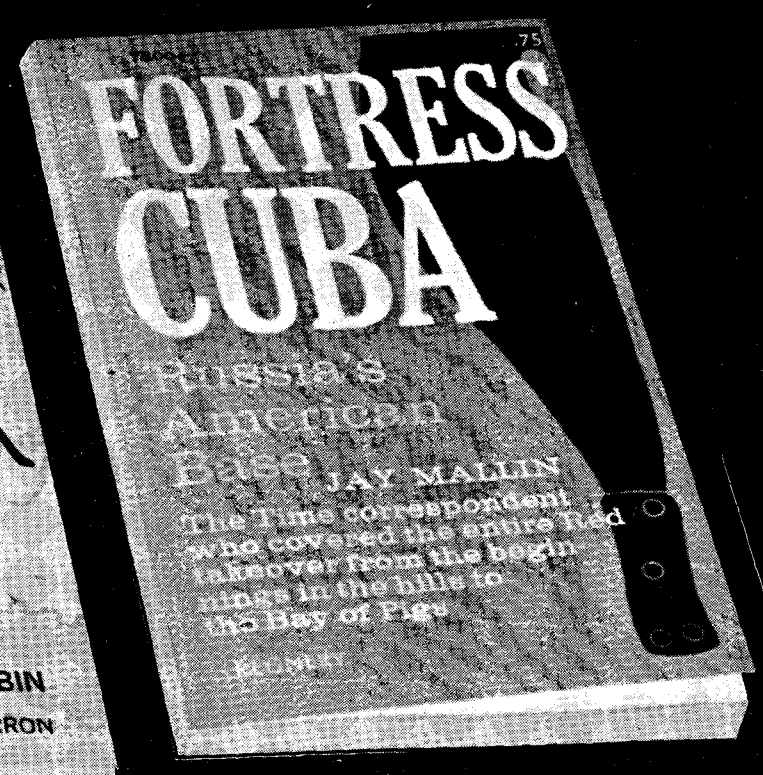


A brilliant writer and a keen analyst, Mme. Labin has visited Viet Nam many times. Her eye witness account gives the American people the first full picture of what is going on in Southeast Asia—and what steps are required to avert disaster there. Here is the shocking story—which Secretary Rusk sought to suppress by denying Mme. Nhu a visa to speak in this country.



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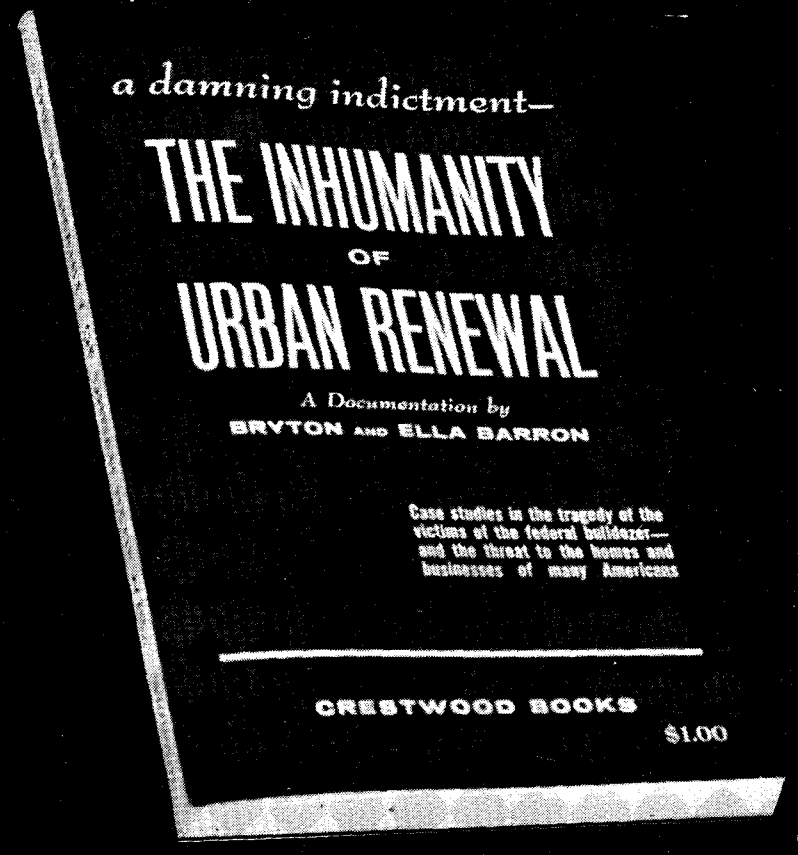

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